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LESCARBOT:
HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE
VOLUME I



TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

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THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE

BY
MARC LESCARBOT

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION, NOTES
AND APPENDICES BY

W. L. GRANT, M.A. (OXON.)
BEIT LECTURER IN COLONIAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

AND AN INTRODUCTION BY
H. P. BIGGAR, B.LITT. (OXON.)
AUTHOR OF "THE EARLY TRADING COMPANIES OF NEW FRANCE"

IN THREE VOLUMES
VOLUME I

TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY
1907

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INTRODUCTION

MARC LESCARBOT

OF Lescarbot's life not a great deal is known. Born at Vervins near Laon about 1570, he was given a good education, and then took up the study of law. During the negotiations which led to the treaty of Vervins, signed in May 1598, Lescarbot, though only *Licentier ès Droits*, pronounced two Latin orations before the Papal Legate who had been sent by Clement VIII. to bring about this peace. In the first, delivered on May 14, Lescarbot thanked Cardinal Medici for his magnificent gifts to the church and town of Vervins, which latter, as the orator pointed out, had been thrice taken and sacked within the previous ten years. The second oration, pronounced on the 31st of May, is a general panegyric on the benefits of peace. As the treaty of Vervins put an end to a nine years' war with Spain, while giving to France herself domestic peace after some thirty-seven years of civil strife, Lescarbot did not lack subject-matter over which to wax eloquent.

To the French edition of this second oration Lescarbot added a few original poems. Some of these are addressed to the two French plenipotentiaries, others to France, to Vervins, and to Madame de Coucy, the wife of the Seigneur of Vervins, who had frequently entertained the commissioners. Some verses are also included which Lescarbot wrote in 1592 when Madame de Coucy had succeeded in bringing about a truce between Vervins and the town of

Capelle-en-Thiérache, to the north of it, which was then in possession of the Spaniards.

In the following year, 1599, during which he was called to the Bar, Lescarbot published translations of two short Latin works by Cardinal Baronius—one on the reunion of the Coptic church with Rome, and the other on the application of the Synod of Kieff for junction with the Holy See. In the dedication of the former to M. Geoffray de Billy, abbot of the monastery of St. Vincent-lez-Laon, at Laon, Lescarbot declared that the fourteen hundred years during which the Bishop of Rome had conducted the affairs of Christendom were sufficient proof of the justice of his claim to supremacy. The application of the Synod of Kieff, which was successfully carried through in 1595, had been brought about by the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, and by the fact that the patriarch who visited Kieff at this time was found to be utterly unworthy of respect. This section of the orthodox Church remained under the jurisdiction of Rome until 1839.

Of Lescarbot's labours at the Bar we know little. Here and there in his history, however, we find reflections which are clearly the results of his own experience. "Lawsuits," he declares in one place, "are the bane of man's existence; for in the pursuit of them men waste their money and their health. And often justice is not obtained after all, either through the judge's ignorance, from whom the truth is kept back, or through malice, or from the wickedness of the Attorney-General who sells his case." It was due, in fact, to some incident of this latter kind that Lescarbot visited the New World.

Among his clients was Jean de Biencourt, Seigneur de Poutrincourt, who had distinguished himself during the late wars, and stood high in the favour of the king. In 1604 De Poutrincourt accompanied De Monts to the Bay of Fundy, where the land about Annapolis basin, or Port Royal as it was then called, was made over to him. He had returned to

France to put his affairs in order, preparatory to his removal to Port Royal, when in the autumn of 1605 De Monts asked him to take charge of his own settlement, which, owing to the unsuitableness of the island of Ste. Croix, had been transferred to Port Royal. De Poutrincourt consented, and invited Lescarbot to accompany him. After some reflection the young Parisian lawyer agreed, being induced, he tells us, by "his desire to flee a corrupt Europe and to examine the new world with his own eyes." An injustice offered to him in court was the principal motive of this determination.

Setting sail from La Rochelle on May 13, 1606, they did not reach Port Royal until the end of July. On July 30, 1607, Lescarbot set off on his return, so that he passed just twelve months in New France. Except for a short visit to the river St. John and the island of Ste. Croix, he spent the whole of this time at Port Royal.

No sooner had they disembarked than De Poutrincourt set every one to work, Lescarbot included. "My wish," the latter tells us, "to discover what the soil of the country was worth made me more ready than the rest to dig and to hoe." When the ground had been cleared they planted the seed brought from France, and by the 30th of August the shoots had begun to appear.

On the 28th of August De Poutrincourt set off on a voyage of discovery, leaving Lescarbot in charge of the settlement. The latter lost no time in directing the workmen to lay out a vegetable garden, and also had a moat dug about the fort. The carpenters, masons, stone and wood cutters, and other artisans were kept busy at their respective trades; but after three hours' labour all were dismissed for the day. The rest of the time was spent by the men in hunting or fishing, many of them gathering mussels on the sands at low tide. As for hunting, it was in Lescarbot's opinion a noble sport, in that "the solitude and silence which accompany it bring beautiful thoughts to the mind."

"For my part," declares our author, "I can say that I never worked so hard in my life. I took pleasure in laying out and cultivating my gardens, in enclosing them to keep out the pigs, in making flower-beds, staking out alleys, building summer-houses, sowing wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans, peas, and garden plants, and in watering them; for I was most anxious to find out by personal experience the quality of the soil. Thus the days were too short for me, and I often worked in the moonlight." Lescarbot made the acquaintance in his garden of our humming-bird, which is unknown in Europe, and of which he speaks with great admiration in his *Adieu à la Nouvelle France*.

The settlement possessed a few domestic animals, but these appear to have required little care. "We had pigs," says Lescarbot, "which multiplied very considerably. Though they had a stable, they often slept out of doors, even in winter-time. We had only one sheep,¹ but she thrived well, although she was not shut up at night, but was left out in the courtyard. She was twice sheared, and the second crop of wool was valued in France at two cents more per pound than the first. We had also chickens and pigeons, which failed not to pay the customary tribute and to increase in great numbers."

After De Poutrincourt's return in the middle of November, when some of the men dressed as Neptune and his Tritons recited verses written by Lescarbot for the occasion, preparations were made for passing the winter, which fortunately proved a mild one. During the first part of it no one wore anything over his doublet; and even in January they were able at times to eat out of doors. Lescarbot speaks especially of one Sunday, January 14, when a number of them went for a walk along one of the small streams which fall into Annapolis basin. So mild and warm was the air that for very joy they sang.

¹ The other was drowned on the way out, in 1604, at Port au Mouton.

In the evening Lescarbot would retire to his room, which contained a few books brought from Paris. Here, far from the noise and din of the company, he read and wrote as at home. It was in these moments that he composed several of the poems printed in his *Muses de la Nouvelle France*. "I am not ashamed to confess," he tells us further, "that at the request of our chief, M. de Poutrincourt, I devoted some hours each Sunday to the religious instruction of our men, both in order to improve their minds and to offer an example to the Indians of our manner of living. And these efforts did not prove fruitless: for several admitted they had never heard the matters pertaining to the Deity so well set forth, having previously been ignorant of the doctrines of Christianity, which is the state indeed of the greater part of Christendom."

Towards the end of March, as soon as the frost and snow had begun to disappear, Poutrincourt set his men to work once more to till and hoe the ground and to plant fresh seed. That which had been sowed in the autumn already gave promise of a good return. Fish were coming up the river in shoals to spawn, and all seemed to promise well for the future, when suddenly at Whitsuntide a boat arrived from Canso to inform De Poutrincourt that De Monts' monopoly, originally granted for ten years, had been revoked during the winter, and that the colony would have to return to France.

"It was a grievous disappointment to us," says Lescarbot, "to abandon a land that had produced such fine wheat and so many lovely garden flowers. So far all that had been done had been to find a suitable spot for permanent settlement and a soil that gave a good return. This having been achieved, to abandon the undertaking showed a great lack of courage; for at the end of another year the colony would have been self-supporting, the land being rich enough to furnish all the necessaries of life. Hence the grief of those who wished to see the Christian religion established in that country. But

De Monts and his partners, having lost money, and receiving no help from the king, could only keep up a settlement in those parts at great sacrifice."

On his return in the autumn of 1607, Lescarbot resumed his practice at Paris, where reparation was made to him by the court for the injustice he had suffered before setting sail for America. During the Easter Law Vacation of 1608 he determined, at the instance of his friends, to draw up an account of the efforts made by his countrymen to explore and colonise America. His plan was, after giving a résumé of the voyages of Verrazano, Cartier, Villegagnon, and Laudonnière from books already in print, to write an original narrative of the expeditions of De Monts and De Poutrincourt to Acadia, with which region he was personally familiar.

The work was finished in the autumn, and appeared early in 1609, with dedications to Henry IV., Marie de Médicis, the Dauphin, and Queen Marguerite of Valois. For each Lescarbot had a suitable word. To Marie de Médicis he recalled the exploits of her fellow-countryman Verrazano, while with much gallantry he politely assumed that Queen Margot was familiar with the achievements of the French in America under her ancestors.

The reception accorded to the volume was evidently most favourable, for a second edition was brought out in 1611. This was reprinted in the following year, but with no changes.¹ From 1612 until 1614 Lescarbot remained in Switzerland in the suite of the French diplomatic representative, Pierre Jeannin de Castille, who had married the only daughter of President Jeannin, to whom Lescarbot had dedicated the second edition of his work. Not long after his return, Lescarbot brought out a third and much enlarged edition of his history, which is that here translated.

About this time, or perhaps earlier, Lescarbot was

¹ M. Tross published a reprint of this edition at Paris in 1866 in three volumes.

appointed a naval commissioner; but what his duties were is not clear. On the 3rd of September 1619 he married, at St. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris (a church still standing), Mdlle. Françoise de Valpergue, by which union he came into possession of the seigneuries of Wiencourt and St. Audebert, near Amiens. We do not know if he had any children; nor has the date of his death yet been discovered.

Such in brief are the main facts of the life of this clever and entertaining writer. He was perhaps too much of a lawyer to be a good poet, but his insight into life was considerable. The following extract from his history may be taken as reflecting his own point of view:—

“Those men are indeed to be pitied who, having it in their power to live a quiet life in the country, cultivating the soil which yields such a good return, pass their lives in cities, bowing and scraping to each other, seeking excuses to go to law, worrying over this and over that, endeavouring to get the better of their neighbours, racking their brains until the day of their death how to pay the rent, how to dress in silk, and how to buy rich furniture; in short, how to cut a figure and feast on a little vanity, in which there is never any satisfaction. ‘Poor fools,’ says Hesiod, ‘who little realise that half of these things possessed in peace and quietness is worth more than all of them together accompanied by so much vexation of spirit.’”

H. P. BIGGAR.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

LESCARBOT, like Herodotus, whom he so much resembles, should be read in the original. Each tells his tale with that well-bred simplicity which marks the gentleman, with the same mixture of apparent credulity and keen sceptical intelligence. There is a touch of condescension in the professed deference with which each dismisses some well-worn legend, perhaps dear to his audience.

“Now the Persians had with them a man named Scyllias, from Scione, the most expert diver of his time. He had long been planning to go over to the Greeks; but no good opportunity had offered till this muster of the Persian ships. In what way he contrived to reach the Greeks I am unable to say for certain, but the current story seems to me improbable. It is said he dived into the sea at Aphetæ, and did not once come to the surface till he reached Artemisium, a distance of nearly eighty stades. My own opinion is that he went in a boat.” (Hdt. viii. chap. 8.)

“Joseph Acosta relates that in Peru one of the lay-brothers lost his way and wandered about in the mountains without knowing whither or in what direction to go, till finally he found himself amid thickets so dense that for fifteen days he was compelled to walk along their tops, and did not set foot upon the ground. Every one is free to believe as much of this tale as he wishes, but as for me, such knowledge is too wonderful for me.” (Lesc. iv. chap. 14.)

Try as one may to reproduce it, full success is impossible.

One is heavy where the original is light; the quiet ease of the original becomes an affected simplicity in the translator.

I like to think that somewhere in the Elysian Fields the two old travellers have met, and that with well-chosen phrase and occasional ripple of laughter, they talk of the marvels to be found at the source of the great River of Egypt and of the great River of Canada.

The resemblance extends to their style. Both lived in ages which [it would be unjust to call ungrammatical, but which were certainly careless of the grammatical niceties. Herodotus' wrote after the attempts of the Logographers had rendered his native tongue flexible and clear, but before it had crystallised into the faultily faultless perfection of the Orators. Lescarbot came late enough to profit by the lessons of Montaigne, Amyot, and Calvin, but before the Hôtel de Rambouillet had put the French language into the strait-waistcoat from which it has not yet wholly freed itself.

The only perfect translation of such a man would be one made by Raleigh or by Florio, ere yet the Augustan age had trained our English prose to run in harness. Such a translation we have only in part. In 1609 Pierre Erondelle, a Huguenot refugee in London, published at the request of Hakluyt a translation of Books IV., V., and VI. under the title of "Nova Francia; or, the description of that part of New France which is one continent with Virginia." This is now extremely rare, a copy sold in January 1907 bringing £30; but there is a reprint in the Harleian collection of voyages (1745). Unequal to the best of Hakluyt's narratives, to the prose of Raleigh or of the great divines, Erondelle's translation has yet something of the strength and richness of the age, and ranks not far below John Florio's celebrated translation of Montaigne.

With the exception of Book VI., my own method has been as follows. After I had made and revised the translation, it was read through by Mr. Biggar, who made such

suggestions and emendations as he saw fit. I then went through this revised version, accepting only such of his suggestions as I preferred. Save in Book VI., only in this final revision did I make any use of previous translations; in that book the translation of Erondelle seemed so adequate, and the French version of 1618 differed so little from that of 1609, that we deemed it sufficient to use Erondelle as a basis, making only such changes as were necessary to avoid too great a divergence in style. This was the easier because in my own translation of Books I.-V. I had endeavoured to retain a touch of the Elizabethan manner, while striving not to lose myself in a wilderness of archaisms.

In revising the extracts from Cartier's voyages in Book III., I have sometimes used the translation of Mr. H. B. Stephens, published at Montreal in 1890. In the extracts from Champlain in the same book, I have been helped by the very adequate translation of Mr. Otis, published by the Prince Society of Boston, U.S.A., and reprinted in 1907 in the series of "Original Narratives of Early American History"; in the notes I have borrowed without scruple from the admirable introduction to this edition of Champlain by the Rev. Edmund Slafter. In Book I. I have occasionally taken a phrase from Hakluyt's version of the voyage of Laudonnière.

As I have said, Lescarbot lived in an age which had more concern to be intelligible than to be exact. Hence I have of design sought to reproduce his easy inexactitude of style, have not greatly cared to make my relatives strictly refer to the same antecedent, or to avoid the grammarian's nightmare, the anacoluthon. But Lescarbot was much more of a literary man than most of the travellers of his time. The edition of 1618 is full of small verbal changes, made with a view to improving the rhythm of the sentence. When he quotes from Jean de Lery (Book II.), or Nicholas Barré (Book II.), or Jacques Cartier (Book III.), or Champlain (Book III.), the difference is at once manifest, and I have endeavoured to

bring it out in the translation. The loose constructions of Lescarbot are due to the carelessness of a craftsman master enough of his instrument to take liberties with it; the grammatical errors and constant repetitions of Barré or De Lery are those of a man not yet master of his trade; those of Champlain are due to the earnestness of one too full of his message to give due regard to the form.

How lightly his Catholicism sat upon Lescarbot may be judged from the fact that his frequent quotations from the Bible are from the Geneva version of Olivetan, revised by Calvin. This is the more remarkable as he could easily have procured the Catholic version of Louvain, by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, issued with the sanction of the Doctors of the University. I have taken my translations from the Authorised Version of 1611. On the other hand, his metrical translations of the Psalms are taken not from the version of Clement Marot and Theodore de Beza, but from the Catholic version published by Philippe Des Portes in 1603. My translations are from the version now in use in the Established Church of Scotland, and in many other Presbyterian churches, which is based on that made by Francis Rous, chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. It would perhaps have been better to adopt a less purely Protestant version, but I have preferred to use that of the Scottish Church because it is the only metrical one now customarily employed by any large Christian body.

There is no need to think that this use of the Protestant Bible and the Catholic Psalter sprang from any desire of the author to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Several references in the course of his history show that he had some knowledge of Hebrew, and he may have considered the versions which he employed the more faithful to the original; or it may have been a question not so much of fidelity as of supposed literary merit; or very probably their use is due to the fact that they were ready to hand, and that the others were not in his library. In any case, it is in-

interesting to know that the Bible which he thumbed so diligently during the winter of 1606-7, and from which, "with true Gallican liberty," he expounded the Scriptures to the listening sailors, was the version not of Rome but of Geneva.

At the end of Volume III. are appendices, including:—

(1) A further note on Erondelle, and the introduction to his translation of 1609.

(2) The text and translation of two rare contemporary pamphlets, discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale by Mr. Biggar, which throw a new and unexpected light on the death of Lescarbot's friend, De Poutrincourt.

(3) A letter of Lescarbot, discovered in the French Foreign Office by M. Marcel, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and printed by him in the *Révue Géographique*, tome xvi. pp. 65-69.

Those notes marked [L.] are translated from the French text. The references for Lescarbot's numerous quotations are given with the French text, and have not been repeated in the translation.

To Mr. Biggar I must especially express my thanks. The Introduction prefixed to this volume is but a small part of what he has done. Not only has his revision of my translation very greatly improved and simplified it, but he has again and again suggested notes and solved difficulties where I myself had sought the explanation in vain. To him also is due the revision of the proof sheets of the French text. I am also greatly indebted¹₂ to Mr. B. E. Walker, President of the Champlain Society, and to Professor G. M. Wrong, of the University of Toronto, who read through the whole work in proof, and made many most valuable suggestions.

W. L. GRANT.

THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE

Containing the Voyages, Discoveries, and Settlements made
by the French in the West Indies and New France, by
commission from our Most Christian Kings; and
their diverse fortunes in the execution of
these matters, from one hundred
years ago until now

*Wherein is contained the Moral, Natural, and Geographical
History of the Provinces described; with the
requisite Tables and Maps*

BY

MARC LESCARBOT

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

EYE-WITNESS OF PART OF THE MATTERS HEREIN RECOUNTED

THIRD EDITION

ENRICHED WITH MANY SINGULAR DETAILS, AS WELL AS
THE CONTINUATION OF THE STORY

PARIS

ADRIAN PERIER, ST. JAMES STREET

At the Sign of the Golden Compass

1618

*To the Most Christian King of France
and of Navarre, LOUIS XIII., Duke of
Milan, Count of Asti, Lord of Genoa*

SIRE,

THERE are two principal causes which as a rule excite Kings to make conquests: zeal for the glory of God, and desire to increase their own possessions. With this double purpose our Kings your predecessors have long been invited to extend their rule beyond the Ocean, and there with little cost form new Empires by methods just and legitimate. Thereunto they have expended certain sums in divers places and seasons. But after having discovered the country we remained content therewith, and the French name has fallen into contempt, not through lack of men of valour, who could carry it on the wings of the loftiest breezes, but by the devices, artifices, and intrigues of the enemies of your crown, who have known how to direct the minds of those whose ability for the furtherance of such an undertaking they recognised. Meanwhile the Spaniard, aforetime feeble, through our carelessness has made himself powerful East and West alike, without our having had the honourable ambition not to precede him but merely to second him; not even to second him, but to avenge the wrongs done by him to us French, who under the patronage of our Kings have desired to share in the heritage of these new and vast

lands which God has given to the men on this side the Ocean since about six score years. It was an undertaking worthy of the late King, your father of glorious memory, Sire, to repair these mishaps; but having high designs for the good of the Christian State, he left to your tender years these enterprises and the establishment of a new kingdom in the New World, while he wrought here to reunite the different faiths, and to bring about a good understanding between the Christian Princes, who were much divided among themselves. But the jealousy of his foes having envied him this glory, and us so great a good, it may be said that the burden which you have taken upon you of the administration of the Kingdoms which have fallen to you is already heavy enough, without seeking for otiose and unnecessary occupations. But, Sire, I on the contrary am of opinion that as the great Alexander began almost at your age the conquest of the first Empire of the world, so also enterprises beyond the ordinary well become your Majesty, who during the last six months have given so many proofs of your prudence and of your courage, that the heavens have been ravished therewith, and the earth so astonished that there is none among men who does not to-day admire, love, and fear you, and judge you capable of ruling not your present possessions, but the whole Universe. Since this is so, Sire, and since God has furnished you so abundantly with His grace, it must be acknowledged by some action worthy of a Most Christian King, which is to make Christians, and to lead to the fold of Jesus Christ the peoples beyond the sea who are not yet subject to any prince, or else to wipe out from our books and from the memory of men this name of New France, wherein we vainly glory. Sire, you will not lack good captains on the spot, if it please you to aid and sustain them, and to grant office to those only who will dwell in the country. But, Sire, firm will and authority must be shown, and you must not permit a privilege once granted to be cancelled, as was done formerly,

to the ruin of so fair an enterprise, which promised the speedy establishment of a new Kingdom in the lands beyond the sea, and which would be well advanced to-day if the envy and avarice of certain folk who will not strike a blow in your service had not hindered it.

The late Monsieur de Poutrincourt, a gentleman¹ of immortal memory, burned with an unshakable desire to Christianise (wherein he had well begun) the lands that had fallen to his lot; and therein he has always been hindered, as also his eldest son,² who hath now for ten years dwelt in that country, never finding but very scanty support in an undertaking so lofty, so Christian, and befitting none but a Christian Hercules. Messieurs de Monts and de Razilly³ make the same complaint with regard to themselves. I omit enterprises more remote from our memory, such as the voyages of Jacques Cartier, Villegagnon, and Laudonnière to Canada, Brazil, and Florida. What then, Sire, shall the Spaniard boast that wherever the sun shines, from his rising unto his setting, he bears rule; and shall you, the foremost king of the earth, the eldest son of the Church, not be able to say the same? What? shall the ancient Greeks and Romans in their paganism be praised for having civilised many nations, and sent out great colonies among them to this intent; and shall we, born in the knowledge of the true God, and under a law all of grace, lack the zeal not alone to civilise, but to lead into the way of salvation so many wandering tribes, capable of so much good, who are beyond the Ocean without God, without law, without religion, living in pitiable ignorance? What, Sire, have our Kings, your great ancestors, drained France of men and of treasure, and

¹ It must be remembered that this title connoted, though somewhat vaguely, noble birth.

² Charles de Biencourt. See George Patterson, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1896.

³ Isaac de Razilly. See Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1901), pp. 135, 306.

exposed their lives unto the death, to preserve religion to the peoples of the East; and shall we lack the same zeal to Christianise the peoples of the West, who of their own will give us their lands, and now for a hundred years past have been holding out their hands to us? Shall we be able to find any valid excuse before the throne of God, when they shall accuse us of the lack of pity which we had toward them, and shall lay at our door their non-conversion? If we knew not their state, we would be free from reproach. But we see it, touch it, feel it, and have no care of it. If some new-comers arrive from Italy or Spain with a new coat or a new song, we rush to meet them, fall on their necks, admire them, overload them at once with riches. I blame not this, Sire, since the bounty of Kings hath no limits other than their own pleasure, and since in your Kingdom each man is master of his own. But I would fain see as great attention paid to the enterprise whereof I speak, an enterprise of unequalled merit, which far exceeds the furthest stretch of piety which can be imagined in the practice of men. A single confiscation, a single fat benefice, a single sum of an hundred thousand crowns told and counted (one of many) since the death of the late King your father, Sire, to a company which did not know what to do with it, would be sufficient, and give you rule with a strong arm in the West, both within the Torrid Zone and without. But each man wishes his personal gain, and so far from pointing this out to you, the results make us believe, on the contrary, that every means is tried to weaken and destroy the courage of those who busy themselves with such generous actions, without a care that to-day your State itself is at stake in these matters; and if we wait yet another century France will no more be France, but the prey of strangers, who daily sap our strength, make faithless your allies, and make themselves powerful unto our ruin in a new world which shall be wholly theirs.

To dazzle us, they ask us to show them in those lands ready-made riches, as though the way were not open to your Majesty to enter therein from one tropic to the other whenever you shall please; as though the glory and power of Kings consisted in aught else than in the multitude of their men; and as though your old France had not fine treasures in her corn, wines, cattle, linen-stuffs, wool, pastel,¹ and other products which are native to her: which are also the treasures to be hoped for from your New France, our nearer neighbour, who even as she is hath long time supported by her fish the whole of Europe alike on sea and on land, and giveth to us of her furs, wherefrom our Newfoundlanders and traders draw good profits.

Sire, if there be a King in the world who can and should bear sway by sea and land, it is yourself. You have innumerable subjects of whom a part are in distress for lack of occupation; and were it not for two or three classes of folk who abound in your Kingdom, you would have many more, who would be no less able to make you feared in the extremities of the earth, than were the ancient Gauls, who conquered Asia and Italy, and there occupied the provinces called by their name: and more recently still our fathers the early Franks, who held as much land across the Rhine as on this side of it. Moreover, you have at your command harbours for east and west alike; timber also for vessels; provisions, canvas, and rope to fit them out in such abundance, that you furnish thereof to the nations bordering on your Kingdom. Much more remains to be said on this matter, Sire, which for the moment I abstain to bring before your Majesty until you have considered the importance of the above, and have shown proof of your serious desire to give ear to that which pertains to the good of your service, and to the glory of God in

¹ Or "woad"; then very extensively used in dyeing; now largely superseded by indigo.

the lands of the West. So may God inspire you, Sire ; so may He aid you and strengthen your arm to enter again into your ancient heritage, and to overcome your enemies. So may He grant us soon to see your greatness served and obeyed over all the earth : whereunto I shall esteem myself honoured to contribute all that a man, such as I, should do,

Sire,

Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient,
and most faithful subject,

MARC LESCARBOT

(*of Vervins*).

*To the Most Noble Lord, PIERRE JEANNIN,¹
Knight, Baron of Montjeu, Chagny, and
Dracy, Councillor of the King in his Coun-
cils of State, and Comptroller General of
his Finances*

MOST NOBLE SIR,

AS man's life begins in ignorance, and little by little the spirit, forming itself by careful research, practice, and experience, acquires the knowledge of things fair and lofty; so the world in its youth was rude, rustic, and uncivilised, with scanty knowledge of things in heaven and in earth, and of the sciences which the succeeding centuries have discovered and handed down to posterity; and many things yet remain to be discovered, for which future ages shall take credit, as we also take credit for the discoveries made in our time. Thus it is that last century discovered the Torrid Zone to be habitable, and curiosity pushed men to seek out and to cross the confines of the Antipodes, which many of the ancients had not been able to understand. Likewise in our days, the desire for knowledge has caused our Frenchmen to discover lands and seacoasts never before seen by the

¹ Usually known as President Jeannin (1540-1622). He was one of the chief statesmen of his day, took an enlightened interest in Art and Letters, and was the special patron of geographers and explorers. Champlain owed much to his assistance.

nations of these parts. In witness whereof I may name the Souriquois, Etechemins, Armouchiquois, Iroquois, Montagnais of the Saguenay, and those who dwell beyond the Rapids of the great river of Canada, discovered in the past year in a district wherein the Spaniards and Flemings have placed on their Maps names invented at their own sweet will; and the first liar has drawn others in his train. "For no man's error," says Seneca, "concerns himself alone, but is the cause and occasion of error in another, and the error, handed down by tradition, hurries us headlong on, and we perish through the examples of others." But it is of no avail to seek out and to discover new lands at the risk of so many lives, if no fruit is drawn therefrom. It is of no avail to give the name of New France, if it remains a name alone, and solely in a painted show. You know, my Lord, that our Kings have during the past hundred years made divers discoveries beyond the Ocean, without any gain thereby to the Christian Religion, or any advantage to themselves. The cause thereof is that some have been contented with the mere view, others with having heard thereof, and that these matters have never been taken up seriously. But now we are in a century of a different humour. For many in these parts would willingly busy themselves with the innocent tillage of the soil, if they had wherewith to employ themselves; and others would willingly expose their lives for the conversion of the nations across the sea.

But first the State must be set up, the more so that, as said of old a good bishop, The Church is in the State, not the State in the Church. First, therefore, the State must be set up, if we wish to make any progress in those parts (for without the State the Church cannot exist), and French colonies be sent thither to civilise the people, and to make them Christians by teaching and example. And since God, most noble Sir, has raised you up to a high

place upon the great theatre of France, to behold and to consider these matters and to give help thereto: you who love great undertakings by sea and ocean, after so many services rendered to our Kings, show forth this your talent once again, and cause these wandering tribes, yea, all Christendom, to pray God for you and bless your name for ever; yea, and to grave it everywhere on the rocks, the trees, and in the hearts of men; which they will do if you deign to supply that which is in your gift and power, to chase their ignorance from them, to open unto them the way of salvation, and to cause to be known the goodly things, alike natural and supernatural, of the earth and of the skies. Wherein I shall never spare my labour, if it please you herein (as in all else) to honour with your commands him whom you have deigned to love without having seen: to wit,

Most noble Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

MARC LESCARBOT.

To FRANCE

FAIR eye of the Universe, nurse from of old of letters and of arms, resource of the afflicted, strong stay of the Christian Religion, dearest Mother, it would be doing you a wrong to publish under your name this work of mine (a task which will quicken you) without addressing myself to you and declaring to you the matter thereof. Your children, most honoured Mother, our fathers and predecessors, have of old during many centuries been masters of the sea when they bore the name of Gauls, and your Frenchmen were not considered true-born if from their birth they could not swim, and as though by nature walk upon the waters. They have with great power occupied Asia. There they have planted their name, which still endures. They have done the same in the lands of the Lusitanians and Iberians in Europe. And in more recent ages, driven by religious zeal and inflamed with piety, they have also carried their arms and the name of France to the East and to the South, so that in those parts he who says Frenchman says Christian; and, conversely, he who says Christian of the West and of Rome says Frenchman. The first Cæsar, Emperor and Dictator, gives you this praise of having civilised and made more cultured and friendly the nations your neighbours, such as the Germans, who to-day are crowded with towns, peoples, and wealth. In short, the great Bishops and Popes of Rome placed themselves under your wing during persecution, and there found shelter; and the Emperors themselves in matters of difficulty have thought it no disgrace to submit themselves to the justice of your Supreme Court. All these

things are marks of your greatness. But if in the early centuries you have borne rule upon the waters, if you have imposed your name upon distant nations, if you have been zealous for the Christian Religion, and, in short, if you have softened the rugged customs of rustic folk, you must enter again upon the old paths, in so far as they have been abandoned, and expand the bounds of your piety, justice, and humanity, by teaching these things to the nations of New France, now that the opportunity to do so presents itself, and that your children are again showing the courage and the devotion of their fathers. What shall I say here, dearest Mother? I fear to offend you if I say in very truth that it is a shameful thing to the most Christian Princes, Prelates, Lords, and Peoples to allow so many reasoning creatures formed in God's image to live in ignorance, and almost as beasts, when each knows that these exist in the great lands of the West beyond the Ocean. The Spaniard has herein shown himself more zealous than ourselves, and has taken from us the palm of navigation which was naturally ours. Herein he has found gain. But why should he be envied that which he has won so well? He has been cruel. This has been the stain upon his glory, which would otherwise be worthy of immortality. For five years past Monsieur de Monts, moved with noble desire and with great courage, has endeavoured to lay the foundation of a colony in New France, and has continued till this present at his own expense. In doing which he and his Lieutenants have treated with humanity the peoples of the said Province. Therefore they one and all love the French, and desire nothing more than to conform themselves to us in civilisation, morality, and religion. How then, shall we not have pity on these who are our fellows? Shall we forever leave them to perish under our eyes—that is to say, with our full knowledge—without bringing thereto any remedy? Our ancient practice of the sea must—I say must—be revived; we must ally the East with the West, France

of the East with France of the West, and convert these many thousand people to God before the end of the world come, which draweth on apace, if the conjectures of some early Christians be true, who have deemed that as God hath made this great Universe in six days, so at the end of six thousand years will come the time of rest, when the devil shall be chained, and shall no more lead men astray. This is like the opinions of the disciples and followers of Elias, who, according to the Talmudists, considered that the duration of the world would be

Two thousand years of Chaos,¹
 Two thousand years of Law,
 Two thousand years of Messiah,

and that for our iniquities, which are great, shall be taken away from the said years that which shall be taken away.

You must make an alliance, dear Mother, in imitation of the course of the sun. For as he daily carries his light hence to New France, so let your civilisation, your justice, your piety, in a word your light, be also carried thither by your children, who henceforth, by the frequent voyages which they will make into these Western lands, shall be called Children of the Sea, which is being interpreted, Children of the West, according to the Hebrew phrase in the Prophecies of Hosea. Even if they do not find there the treasures of Atabalippa² and his like, which have whetted the appetite of the Spaniards and drawn them to the West Indies, yet shall they not be in want, for this province will be worthy to be called your daughter, the colony of men of courage, the Academy of Arts, and the retreat of those of your children who are not contented with their lot; many of whom, for lack of occupation, go to foreign lands, where they have already taught the crafts which

¹ *i.e.* neither Law nor Messiah. [L.]

² The Inca of Peru conquered by Pizarro. Usually spelt Atahualpa. See W. H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*.

of old were your special portion. But if, instead of so doing, they take the road to New France, they will no longer wantonly turn aside from the obedience of their natural prince, but will carry on great enterprises upon the waters, enterprises so proper to the lands of the West, that in the writings of the Prophets the word for a business enterprise is also the word for West, and the West and the sea naturally suggest themselves in discussions on the subject of riches.

Some of faint heart, whom the sight of the waves affrights, cause simple folk to wonder, saying (like the Poet Horace) that it is better to regard from afar the fury of Neptune—

“Afar from solid ground to see great Neptune rage,”

and that in New France there is no pleasure. There are certainly no violins, no masquerades, no dances, no palaces, no towns, and no goodly buildings as in France. But to such folk I have spoken in several places of my history. And I shall, moreover, say to them that it is not to them that belongs the glory of establishing the name of God among these wandering tribes who have not the knowledge thereof; nor to found Christian and French States in a new world; nor to do aught virtuous, which can aid and give courage to posterity. Such ne’er-do-wells, measuring every man by their own yardstick, not knowing how to get gain from the earth, and with no zeal for God, find all things great impossible; and whoso is willing to believe them will never do anything whatever.

Tacitus, speaking of Germany, said of it the same as these do of New France. “Who is there,” said he, “save him who was born there, who beyond the danger of a fearful and unknown sea, would consent to leave Italy, Asia, or Africa for Germany, where there is a bitter climate, a formless and sad country whether in its aspect or in its culture?” He spoke as a pagan, and as a man whose hope was in the enjoyment of the things of this world.

But the Christian treads another road, and has his goal in that which concerns the honour of God, for whose sake any exile is sweet, any labour a delight, and any peril but a pastime. And if there be no violins and other amusements in New France, there is yet no reason to complain, for to take them thither is full easy.

But those who are accustomed to behold goodly castles, towns, and palaces, and to delight their minds in admiring them, count life little agreeable among forests and a naked folk. In answer to whom I shall say that if there were towns already founded from of old, there would certainly not be an inch of soil at the disposal of the French, and, moreover, the promoters of the undertaking would not consent to go thither to build upon the foundation of another. Moreover, who is there, save a great fool, who would not rather see a forest belonging to himself, than a palace wherein he hath nothing?

The timid put forward yet another difficulty, worthy of them, which is the fear of pirates. To this I have replied in the portion concerning war; and shall say again that to those who march beneath the wing of the Almighty, and in such a cause as ours, God hath said: "Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel; I will help thee, saith the Lord, and thy redeemer, the Holy One of Israel."

And as the over-conscientious make difficulties everywhere, I have at times seen some who doubted if one could justly occupy the lands of New France, and deprive thereof the inhabitants; to whom my reply has been in few words, that these people are like the man of whom it is spoken in the Gospel, who had wrapped up in a napkin the talent which had been given unto him, instead of turning it to account, and therefore it was taken away from him. And therefore, as God the Creator has given the earth to man to possess it, it is very certain that the first title of possession should appertain to the children who obey their father and recognise

him, and who are, as it were, the eldest children in the house of God, as are the Christians, to whom pertaineth the division of the earth rather than to the disobedient children, who have been driven from the house, as unworthy of the heritage and of that which dependeth thereon.

But I would not have these tribes exterminated, as the Spaniard has those of the West Indies, taking as pretext the commandments formerly given to Joshua, Gideon, Saul, and other warriors for God's people. For we are under the law of grace, the law of gentleness, piety, and pity, wherein our Saviour hath said: "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart," and likewise, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest"; and not, "I will root you out." Moreover, these poor Indian tribes were defenceless in the presence of those who have ruined them, and did not resist as did those peoples of whom the Holy Scripture makes mention. And further, if it was intended that the conquered be destroyed, in vain would the same Saviour have said to his Apostles: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."

The earth pertaining, then, by divine right to the children of God, there is here no question of applying the law and policy of Nations, by which it would not be permissible to claim the territory of another. This being so, we must possess it and preserve its natural inhabitants, and plant therein with determination the name of Jesus Christ and of France, since to-day many of your children have the unshakable resolution to dwell there with their families. The inducements are great enough to attract men of valour and of worth, who are spurred on by a goodly and honourable ambition to be the first in the race for immortality by this action, which is one of the greatest men can set before themselves. And as the fish of the salt sea pass every year through the strait of Constantinople to the sea of the Pontus Euxinus (which is the Greater Sea), there to spawn

and bring forth their little ones, the more so that there they find the water fresher, because of many rivers which discharge into it ; so, dearest Mother, those of your children who would fain leave this salt sea to go to drink of the fresh waters of Port Royal in New France, will soon find there, by God's aid, a retreat so agreeable, that they will greatly desire to go thither to people the province and to fill it with offspring.

M. LESCARBOT.

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Christian Kings Francis I. and Charles IX., in the New
Land of Florida and Virginia, by Captains Verrazano,
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TO THE READER

MY friend the reader, to err is human, and no other save God can call himself perfect, and even He, according to the Proverb, cannot satisfy everybody. Therefore, if you find anything in this book according not well with your opinion, or some fault of style, I beg of you in your wisdom to endure it all, and not to think me better than one of the authors who is put among the holy books, and who at the end of his work says : That if he has not acquitted himself worthily enough in his history, he should be pardoned ; for I submit myself in all things to the correction of those wiser than I.

There is an imperfection in our language, in that it contains too many superfluous letters. Therefore I have avoided them as much as possible, employing an unusual orthography.

Finally, I may say that in the Table of Contents you will find the whole marrow and substance of this present History.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE

CONTAINING THE VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF
THE FRENCH IN THE NEW LANDS OF THE WEST
FROM THE THIRTIETH DEGREE UNTO THE
FORTIETH; AND THEIR OCCUPATION
OF THE COUNTRY TO-DAY
CALLED FLORIDA

CHAPTER I

THE author of the book of Wisdom attributed to Solomon says that desire of gain has moved the spirit of man to search out the means of going upon the waters, and of building ships, whereby we may cross over the sea, and travel thereon as on a firm road, notwithstanding the depth of the waves and the abysses. This opinion makes plausible to me the belief that the holy patriarch Noah was not the first inventor or builder of sea-going vessels, since his own was not built to that end; and that before his time mankind had begun to make use of them. Nor will this surprise any one who considers that the world was abundantly peopled within a short time of its creation; and that cities were straightway founded, and provided with the necessaries of life, and also with much more subtle trades than ship-making, such as those relating to the discovery,

smelting, working, and use of metals, and others not spoken of in Holy Writ, which contents itself with indicating to us this one that we may therefrom assume the rest ; not to speak of the invention of music and of musical instruments, such as organs, harps, and others, which testify to the existence of states full of magnificence several centuries before Noah ; as also that soon after the Flood, and during his lifetime, there sprang into being that great and proud city of Babylon, the miracle of the world, which never had its like, at least as to its walls and bulwarks. From that time traffic was carried on by sea, and cities were built along its shores, whereof we can see notices and references in sacred History in the passage where it is written that the holy patriarch Jacob said to his son Zebulon that his heritage should be by the sea-shore at the haven of ships.

The same desire has been the spur which for the past six score years has driven the Portuguese, Spaniards, and other peoples of Europe to risk their lives upon the Ocean, to seek for new worlds on both sides of the Equator, and, in a word, to girdle the earth ; which to-day, through the persistent and unwearied greed of man, is wholly explored save for some Antarctic shores and a few to the west beyond America, which have been passed over because they contained nothing to loot.

Amid so many discoveries our Kings have also taken the field, but in another manner, and to an end other than that of our southern neighbours. For I see by their commissions that they breathe nothing save the advancement of the Christian religion, without any present gain ; and I do not find in any document that in the execution of their enterprises they have, like the others, cruelly depopulated the provinces which they desired to colonise, having more highly esteemed the conversion of souls to God, and the praise of mankind, than the possession of the earth.

To this end our King Francis I., amid his political diffi-

culties, made the first expedition over seas in the year 1520,¹ sending Captain John Verrazano, a Florentine, to explore the new lands which had not been taken possession of by any Christian prince, with the intention of colonising them, if he received a favourable report. These orders the said Verrazano carried out, coasting along the whole region since called Florida, and that which has taken the name of Virginia, as far as the fortieth degree, whereof he gave an account, as we shall see later on. In the years 1533 and 1534² Captain Jacques Cartier of St. Malo was sent by the same King to explore the New-found-land of the cod fisheries, and the river of Canada by him called Hochelaga. And six years afterwards John Francis de la Roque, lord of Roberval, a gentleman of Picardy, received a commission in company with the said Cartier to make a settlement in the said country.

In the reign of King Henry II., in the years 1555 and 1556, fresh expeditions were sent for the colonisation of the land of Brazil under the leadership of Nicholas Durant, called the Chevalier de Villegagnon. And under King Charles IX., in the years '62 and '64, were made the voyages for the colonisation of the region discovered by John Verrazano, of which voyages the leaders were Captain John Ribaut and Monsieur de Laudonnière, a gentleman of Poitou.

If the holy desire of these good Kings has not succeeded so fully as could be wished, the fault must be attributed partly to ourselves, who dwell in a country too good for us to abandon, in order to undergo hardships for the luxuries of life, now that the lapse of several hundred years has (for lack of practice) weakened our spirit; partly to the wars, both foreign and civil, which have continually scourged France, and kept our French within their borders, both during the reign of King Francis I., and later when the foreigner fomented our divisions, and leagued us one

¹ Really 1524.

² Really 1534 and 1535.

against the other, in order to establish his greatness by our downfall.

In these later times, when France began to breathe again by reason of the incomparable worth of our great Henry, some few have set themselves to resume the abandoned paths, to wit, MM. the Marquis de la Roche, a gentleman of Brittany, de Monts, a gentleman of Saintonge, and de Poutrincourt, a gentleman of Picardy. Of all these I shall speak, each in his turn, according to what I have myself seen, or heard them tell, or discovered by the writings of those who made the first voyages, the history of which I have found the more difficult, in that the memory of them was already forgotten: so that I have been constrained to seek it partly in the King's Library,¹ partly among the mouldy papers of the booksellers, and have at times made use, in regard to these later days, of what Samuel Champlain has given to the public.

And as it is said of certain fish consecrated to Venus, which are born of the foam of the sea, that to protect themselves from the greedy attacks of larger fish they gather together in thousands, and intertwine themselves in so many squads that they become strong enough to defend themselves; so I have thought good to combine in one mass this great number of narratives and brief accounts which were in a manner buried out of sight, in order to bring them again to life, and by thus collecting them endeavour to give them more strength to resist the all-consuming quicklime of time; not only to satisfy the honest wish of several who have long required it of me, but also to employ usefully the leisure hours which I may have during this vacation season in the year 1608.

Now, inasmuch as in this history frequent mention is made of various places to which our French have given names, but which map-makers have hitherto ungratefully

¹ The Bibliothèque du Roi, founded by Charles V., and which had recently been greatly enlarged by Henry IV. It is now the Bibliothèque Nationale.

suppressed, writing in names whose imaginary character is only equalled by the falseness of the outline they have given to our New France; I have been particularly anxious to delineate and represent truthfully this country in accordance with the private charts of our sailors, and also of the said Champlain (for I did not see everything), in order to show that neither the Spaniards nor any others before us have ever seen it, and that the former have been drawing the long bow, especially when they have traced a large river on this side of the country of the Armouchiquois, and thereon a great and powerful city which they have named (neither I nor they themselves know why) Norombega, which they have placed about the forty-fifth degree, whereof we shall speak more at length at the proper place.

And though my subject seem lowly, since we do not treat here of a kingdom filled with goodly cities and palaces, enriched from of old with wealth of ornaments, private and public, overflowing with races instructed in all manner of arts, both liberal and mechanic; and, in a word, since my present treatise has nothing to do with the Seven Wonders of the World, yet such as it is I hope that wise men will accord it a safe-conduct, if they consider that Solomon, that great vessel of wisdom, did not disdain in his Natural History to treat of the least things here below, "from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall; also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes." And if only through considerations of humanity, and because these peoples of whom we shall treat are men like ourselves, we have reason to be roused with the desire of understanding their modes of life and their customs, especially since we often receive with much applause stories and reports of matters neither so strange nor so far removed from us; that by the consideration of their deplorable state and condition (for they live naked and nomad, without police, law, or religion) we may come to

thank God for the greater favour He has shown to us, and to say with the Prophet-King, His well-beloved :—

“ The doctrine of his holy word
To Jacob he doth show ;
His statutes and his judgments he
Gives Israel to know.
To any nation never he
Such favour did afford ;
For they his judgments have not known.
O do ye praise the Lord.”

(Ps. cxlvii. 19, 20.)

For in addition to the civilised life wherein we are born, He has of His grace illumined us with His holy Spirit, and made us to see the secrets of His great wisdom, that we may know and adore Him, and win salvation by His son Jesus Christ, our mediator and saviour, who in a word is the whole life of man, and the end towards which we should aspire.

Thus we cannot do less than that Pagan philosopher,¹ who thanked his Gods, among other things, that he was born at Athens rather than elsewhere, since that city was the home of all good instruction, culture, and order, the seat of the sciences and of good laws.

And yet I would not so greatly depreciate the condition of the tribes whom we are to describe as not to avow that there is much good in them. For, to put it briefly, they have courage, fidelity, generosity, and humanity, and their hospitality is so innate and praiseworthy that they receive among them every man who is not an enemy. They are not simpletons like many people over here ; they speak with much judgment and good sense ; and if they intend entering upon any important undertaking, their chief is listened to with attention, while he speaks for one, two, or three hours, and reply is made on each several point as the subject requires. So that if we commonly call them

¹ Socrates.

Savages, the word is abusive and unmerited, for they are anything but that, as will be proved in the course of this history.

One thing they have lacked up till now, which has been and still is the cause of their nakedness, the use of iron, without which all our handicrafts cease; and I believe that we should be very little more advanced than they if we had been deprived of this admirable invention, which we owe to Tubal-Cain, who is specially commemorated at the beginning of the sacred history of the birth of the world.¹

¹ This chapter differs almost wholly from the introduction to the editions of 1609 and 1611. In particular, a number of attacks on Spain are softened or omitted, probably as being out of place in a book dedicated to the youthful husband of Anne of Austria.

CHAPTER II

VARIOUS ancient writers, wishing to discourse on the origin of the name of Gaul, have made a blind thrust in the dark, and not come near the mark, whether through lack of knowledge of the history of the creation of the world, or of skill in the languages of past centuries, to which we must refer the giving of the earliest names, or through lack of possession of true accounts of the early Gauls. These indeed they could not have possessed, inasmuch as the whole Theology and Philosophy of those Gauls consisted in unwritten traditions, writing being only used in private affairs, according to Cæsar. Now herein we have to do only with the Latins and Greeks, who alone have written of our early days. As for the Latins, seeing no plausibility in the derivation of our name from a Cock, which is the meaning of the word *Gallus* in their tongue, they said nothing further on the subject. But the more enterprising Greeks, who have confused the origins of everything, and in addition filled them with fables,¹ have written that a king of the Gauls named Celtes, and in token of honour Jupiter, had a daughter named Galatea, who disdained all the princes of her time, until having heard of the unparalleled virtues of the great Hercules of Libya, son of Osiris, who was making war upon the tyrants of the earth, as he was passing through the country of the Celts on his journey from Spain to Italy, she became enamoured of him, and with the permission of her parents had a son

¹ I have made little attempt to follow the wanderings of Lescarbot in the wilderness of pedantry into which he now plunges. His distrust of Greek learning, and his confutation of those who tried to weave the mythology of Greece into a consistent history, are characteristic of his time.

by him, who was named Galates, who surpassed all the princes of his age in bodily strength and in lofty courage; and after conquering many provinces by force of arms, changed the name of Celts, which his father had given them, and called his subjects Galates. Others have thought that they had been so called from the Greek word Γάλα, which means Milk, because the Gallic race is white and of the same colour as milk. Now these derivations are absurd. For as regards their white colour, there would have been more reason for giving this name to those of Great Britain, or of Low Germany. And, moreover, it is folly to think we have taken our name from the Greeks, some of whom, on the contrary, are called by our name. As regards the word Galates, it is an invention from the same smithy. For I see nothing but contradictions in all those who have spoken of it. Pausanias, in his *Attica*,¹ says that the name of Galates did not come till very late, and that for many centuries before that the Gauls were known as Celts. And yet, according to Berossius, Galates was King of the Gauls immediately after Celtes. Strabo, on the contrary, says that all the Galates were called Celts by the Greeks, because of the noble stock of those of the province of Narbonne; wherein he gives us to understand that they were Galates before being Celts. Appian holds that the Celts come from a certain Celtes, son of Polyphemus, who was the son of Neptune; which cannot be harmonised with the statement of Berossius, that Jupiter Celtes was the ninth King of the Gauls, several centuries after Neptune.

But I would fain ask why the Greeks, to follow their whimsies, have changed the name of Gaul to Galates, which the Romans have not done, being more reserved and more moderate in embroiling antiquity. I believe that they were afraid of making themselves ridiculous by calling them Gallic

¹ The sub-title of Book I. of the *Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις* of Pausanias, the fore-runner of Baedeker.

with a double -l, because Γάλλος in their language means Eunuch, and they perceived that the Gauls were extremely prolific. Hence they took the idea of imposing on the Gauls the name of Galates, because of King Galates. And nevertheless Strabo, otherwise not too particular, calls them indifferently Gauls or Galates, and those of Asia Gallo-greeks.

There being then no plausibility in this name of Galates, it is better to remain contented with the title given by our nearest neighbours the Romans, who know us better, of whom Saint Gregory said, that "as they have not the acuteness and subtlety of the Greeks, so they have not their heresies." They are not such great meddlers and liars. And for the word Gaul we have the authority of Xenophon, who in his *De Æquivocis*¹ says that Ogyges the first (which is Noah) was surnamed the Gallic, because at the flood, having saved² himself, he also saved the human race, and repopled the earth; whence it comes, says he, that the Sages,³ who are a people of Asiatic Scythia, that is to say, of Armenia, where Noah's Ark rested, "call a seagoing ship Gallerim," because it saves from shipwreck. And from this word we have retained the names Galley and Galliot, and not from Galerius, as Erasmus maintained, in the adage "Navis aut Galerius."⁴ Cato, in the preface to his *Origines*, and other authors are at one as to the above, saying that Janus (which is Noah)

¹ No such work was ever written by Xenophon. Lescarbot drew his information from a volume of forged fragments published by Annius of Viterbo at Rome in 1498, and frequently reprinted. The passage in question there reads as follows: "Ogyges plures fuere. Primus supradictus attavus Nini, quem Babylonii Gallum cognominant, quod in inundatione etiam superstes alios eripuerit, & genuerit. Hinc Sagæ apud quos navigio salvatus est & ereptus, ratem vocant Gallerim, quod undis salvet."

² In the original there occurs here one of those plays upon words, so often supposed by the early philologists and ethnologists to signify a real connection between the things spoken of. The use of "guarantee" for "save" would bring this out.

³ From these tribes of Sages are descended our Toulousans, called Tectosages. [L.]

⁴ See the *Adagia* of Erasmus, Chilias Secunda, 909.

came from Scythia into Italy with the Gauls, who were ancestors of the Umbrians (people to-day inhabiting the duchy of Spoleto), called by another name from their Fathers, but having the same meaning. For in the Hebrew and Aramaic tongues *Gallim* signifies Wave, Water, Flood; and in the ancient Latin tongue *Umber*, or *Imber*, means Water and Rain. I know that Bodin¹ does not accept this, and jeers at Rabbi Samuel, who is of the same opinion as ourselves. But I consider his explanation more ridiculous when he says that as the ancient Gauls were nomad, and knew not whither they were going, they began to mutter these words, *Où allons-nous?* (where are we going?), and that thence came the word Wallon, or Gallon by the change of a letter.

Let us hold fast, then, to our original opinion, and say with the same Xenophon that Noah, when repeopling the earth, led hitherward a group of families, who, from their love of navigation, thought good to call themselves by the name attributed to this great Ogyges (that is to say, Glorious and Holy), and likewise to Comerus Gallus (who in sacred history is called Gomer), first King of the Gauls, according to James of Bergoma² in his supplement to the Chronicles, although Berosius makes him King of Italy, wherein I cannot agree, since they have not retained the name.

Thus having greatly multiplied (as the Gallic race is fruitful), they made themselves masters of the sea from the first centuries after the Deluge; and before the Trojan wars the great Captain Cambaules ravaged all Greece and Asia, as Pausanias confesses in his *Phocica*,³ and elsewhere. Long after, the Gauls, greedy of spoil, raised three armies. Brennus, the chief of one, had an hundred and fifty-two thousand footmen, and twenty thousand four hundred knights, each of

¹ Jean Bodin (1530-96) became by his six books, *De Republica*, the father of political philosophy in France. In philosophic depth and philologic absurdity he may be compared to Plato.

² Jacobus Philippus Foresti Bergomensis (1434-1520).

³ The sub-title of Book X. of Pausanias. The exact reference is X. xix. 6.

whom had two led horses, and a number of lackeys under him; and they coasted the whole of Asia by sea as well as by land. Strabo makes mention of other great conquests of the Tectosages, Tolistobogiens, and Trocmiens, Gallic peoples, who seized and held Bithynia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, under a certain Leonorius, who there set up twelve Tetrarchs like our twelve Peers of France. And of these conquests Pliny also speaks, saying that they had an hundred and ninety-five towns and principalities.

Moreover, they had such good maritime laws that foreign nations willingly conformed themselves thereto, as, according to Strabo, did the Rhodians, who had borrowed from our people of Marseilles the maritime laws in use among them. This they did the more willingly in that they saw these people of Marseilles live justly, and allow no pirates on the sea, having, as says the same Strabo, great storehouses well furnished with everything necessary for the navy, and for the storming of cities, and also infinite spoils of victories won by them during several centuries against the aforesaid pirates. And Julius Cæsar, speaking of the civilisation of the Gauls and of their manner of life, which they had taught to the Germans, says that their knowledge of over-sea matters brings them great plenty and many luxuries for their ordinary use.

And one must not suppose that this ardour for navigation was confined within the Eastern sea.¹ For the country of Portugal, bearing the name of Port of the Gauls, is witness enough that they also made their course over the Ocean. In memory whereof the principal city of the Kingdom of the Gauls bears still to-day the ship as its emblem.² Moreover, I could yet further mention here the Land's End of England, which is called Cornwall, the point of Gaul, which

¹ *i.e.* the Mediterranean.

² Paris was given these arms on account of its mayor being head of the corporation of merchants who received the tolls on all boats passing above the bridge of Mantes, *i.e.* the *Mercatores aquæ Parisiis*.

can only be derived from the voyages of the Gauls. But as by the vicissitude of affairs, all things change here below, and the centuries have I know not what innate necessity (not to employ the word fatality) to follow the guidance of the stars, the instruments of God's providence, the Gauls have more than once let this zeal for ocean voyages grow cold for a time, as when the Romans sowed division among them, and by this means made themselves masters of their State, and at a later date when the Franks, Goths, and other nations dismembered this great Empire, now broken with age, and filled full of vicious and foul humours. But later on, history shows us that they resumed their first and ancient wanderings, as when the Crusades were preached for the recovery of the Holy Land; at about which time, to wit in the year 1280, to avoid the trouble of perpetually creating Admirals Extraordinary and by special commission, to guide the French army across the sea to the Orient, the Admiralty of France was raised to the title of a special office by King Philip, called the Hardy, son of St. Louis, and bestowed upon the Lord Enguerrand de Couci, third of the name in that family, first Admiral of France in the rank stated.¹

Now, as a sick man in the throes of the pain that racks him easily forgets the pursuits wherewith he was wont to occupy himself when in health, so later on the French, busily engaged on the defensive in the long wars waged against the English within their very entrails, and in the heart of France, again allowed this ancient ardour for navigation to burn low; nor has it since then been easy to rekindle, for France was barely cured of her sickness, when on a sudden other wars sprang up through the gluttonous ambition of a Prince,² the subject

¹ The third Enguerrand de Couci died in 1242. Enguerrand IV. was a blackguard, and neither admiral nor crusader. The rank of Admiral was first awarded by Louis IX. (St. Louis) in 1248. See C. de la Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française*, vol. i. p. 168. Lescarbot's error is due to his wish to flatter the family of Couci, who were Lords of the Manor of Vervins, his birthplace.

² Charles the Bold of Burgundy.

of our King, who promised himself nothing less than to carry away the crown from off his head, as is amply enough set forth in our histories. In any case, he has torn away goodly pieces, not to be regained, whatever the justice of our quarrel, without great difficulty. And since then religious disputes and troubles having arisen, our French, amid these long alarms, have had their hands so full that in a universal discord it has been very difficult to take a wide outlook, since a man did well to be able to keep what he had, and to live peaceably at home.

However, amid all these turmoils, our Kings have not ceased to make discoveries at great expense in divers countries and at divers times, as has been seen in the preceding chapter; and they would have done yet more if they had had at their side men who were lovers of navigation, or if our French admirals had been interested in seafaring, or had not been busy elsewhere and become embroiled in our civil wars. For although very often Kings are only too much spurred on by ambition to rule over the whole earth and over new worlds, were this possible, inasmuch as (to quote the Wise Man) "in the multitude of people is the King's honour," yet have they need of men to second them, or even to inflame them in a good cause, where especially there is likelihood of performing a deed the success of which will redound to the glory of God, and not turn to the undoing of another. And therein our century is in worse condition than those past; since, although by God's grace we enjoy peace, though the King is feared, and though he has such resources as were not enjoyed by any of his predecessors, though the establishment in the western lands beyond the sea of a French Christian Kingdom would be easy, and though there are men fully resolved to colonise New France, whence they have brought back the fruits of their labours, as shall be told in its proper place, yet almost no one can be found (of those at least who have influence at court) who favours

this design either in private or before his Majesty. All are well content to hear tell of it, but to give aid is a very different matter. They would fain find the treasures of Atabalippa without labour and without trouble, but they arrive too late, and to find such, search and outlay are necessary, which our nobles do not wish to bestow. The ordinary questions put to us are: are there treasures there, are there mines of gold and silver? And no one asks: is this people well disposed to hear the Gospel of Christ? And as for Mines, they exist in very truth, but they must be excavated with industry, labour, and patience. The best mine which I know is corn and wine, and the raising of cattle. He who has these is wealthy. But by mines we do not live, at least not directly. And very often a man puts a good mien upon bad cards. Moreover, the sailors who go from all parts of Europe to fish off Newfoundland, and beyond, a thousand leagues distance from home, find there excellent mines without breaking down cliffs, opening up the earth, living in the darkness of hell (for so must we call the mines, to which in olden times those were condemned who had deserved death); there, I repeat, they find excellent mines in the depths of the waters, and in trading for skins and furs of moose, beaver, otter, marten, and other animals, whence they draw good money on their return from their voyages, wherein they would take no such pleasure did they not foresee an ample profit. Let this much be said in passing with regard to Newfoundland, which, though thinly inhabited and in a cold climate, is yet visited by a great number of people who yearly pay their homage from further afield than is done to the greatest Kings of the earth, who very often are flattered and honoured more because they are rich and can enrich others, than from a sense of duty. Such, then, is our treatment of this land, and if it be so useful in this regard, it would seem that those which lie nearer the sun are much more to be prized and esteemed, inasmuch

as, in addition to the harvest of the sea, they give hope of return from cultivation of the soil, without our needing to worry over mines of gold and silver, wherewith our Eastern France easily dispenses, and does not fail to be as flourishing as the countries which surround her. Whereof we shall speak more at length hereafter, as the subject presents itself.

CHAPTER III

I KNOW that various writers, astonished at the discovery of this new world called the West Indies, have racked their brains to discover the manner whereby it can have been peopled after the Deluge; which is the more difficult in that from one pole to the other that hemisphere is separated from this by a sea so wide that men have apparently never had either the ability or the daring to cross it to discover new lands until these last centuries; at least there is no mention thereof in all the books and memoirs left us by Antiquity. Some have made use of certain prophecies and revelations of Holy Scripture, dragged in by the hair, to prove, some that the Spaniards, others that the Jews should inhabit this new world. Others have thought that the inhabitants were a race of Ham, carried thither by the punishment of God, when Joshua began his entry into the land of Canaan, and the taking possession thereof, Holy Scripture bearing witness that all the tribes who dwelt there were so terrified that their heart fainted within them; and thus it might have happened that the predecessors and ancestors of the Americans and others of those parts, driven out by the children of Israel from some districts of this land of Canaan, and having embarked on shipboard at the mercy of the sea, were thrown upon this land of America and landed there. A conjecture which seems to be confirmed by that which is written in the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, to wit, that the Canaanites, before the entry of the children of Israel into their land, were anthropophagi, that is to say, eaters of human flesh, as are several in this great extent of country. And to aid them further in their opinion, I shall add that many of the Americans

leap through the fire in making their invocations to their demons, as did the Canaanites. But there are reasons yet more probable than this, among which I shall affirm that those are not far from the truth who have considered that certain sailors, merchants, and passengers, overtaken at sea by a hurricane, the violence of which they could not withstand, may have been carried to that country and there perchance been shipwrecked; so that, finding themselves naked, they would have been compelled to live by hunting and fishing, and to clothe themselves in the skins of the animals which they had killed. Thus they would have multiplied and replenished the earth to a certain extent (for hardly anything more than the shores of the sea and of the great rivers is inhabited, at least in the nearest lands which face France and are on the same parallel), so that although formerly they had some knowledge of God, little by little it disappeared, for lack of teachers, as we see happened in this hemisphere shortly after the Deluge. And several accidents falling out after this manner, from the East as well as from the South and North, and from the countries lying therein, may have caused the peopling of this Western land in all its parts.

Nor is this without a parallel, even one known to ourselves. For in the year 1598 the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, seeking to colonise New France and to plant there French settlements, in accordance with the permit received from the King, led thither a certain number of folk, whom (having as yet no knowledge of the country) he disembarked on Sable Island, which lies south of Cape Breton, twenty leagues from the mainland,¹ *i.e.* near the 44th parallel. Meanwhile he went off to reconnoitre both the inhabitants and the country, and to find some good harbour for his settlement. On his return he was overtaken by a contrary wind, which carried him so far seaward that, seeing himself nearer to France than to his company, he continued his journey hither,

¹ Sable Island lies 85 miles SE. from the nearest point of Nova Scotia.

where shortly after he was taken prisoner at the hands of my Lord the Duke de Mercœur. His men remained on the island for the space of five years, living on fish and on the milk of some cows carried thither some eighty years ago, in the time of King Francis I., by the Baron de Leri and de St. Just, Viscount of Gueu, who, having a heart inclined to deeds of high emprise, desired to form a settlement in those parts, and to lay the foundations of a French colony; but having been detained too long at sea by the duration of his voyage, he was constrained to disembark there his live stock, cows and pigs, for want of fresh water and pasture. And on the flesh of these animals, now greatly increased in number, the colony of the said Marquis lived the whole time they were in this island. At length the King, when at Rouen, ordered a pilot to go to their rescue when he went to the Newfoundland fishery. This he did, and out of forty or fifty brought back a dozen, who presented themselves before his Majesty clothed in walrus-skins. This is an example of how Savage races may have arisen. And had these men been permanently left there with a number of women, they or their children would have become like the people of New France, and little by little would have lost the knowledge of God. And having regard to this, I might well cry out with the Apostle St. Paul: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?" (Rom. xi. 33, 34).

If any one objects that what I have just said is impossible, because it is not customary to take women on sea-voyages, I shall reply that that holds good at the present time, but that it was otherwise in the early centuries, when women were more vigorous and had really the courage of a man; whereas to-day luxury has sapped the hardihood of both sexes alike. And yet even to-day we sometimes see women accompany their husbands to sea. And there is need of but one to

people a whole country, as the world has become peopled by the fruitfulness of our first mother.

But to return to my subject. I have another argument which may serve to prove that these peoples have been borne there in this manner, *i.e.* by shipwreck, and that they have sprung from a race of men who had been taught the law of God. For one day when M. de Poutrincourt was speaking through an interpreter with a Savage chief named *Chkoudun*, concerning our faith and religion, on being told of the Flood he replied that he had indeed long ago heard that in ancient times there had been wicked men who died one and all, and that better had come in their places. And this legend of the Flood prevails not only in the part of New France wherein we dwelt, but also among the tribes of Peru, who, as Joseph Acosta¹ recounts, speak clearly of a flood which happened in this country, wherein all the inhabitants were drowned, and that from the great lake Titicaca issued a Viracocha (who is the greatest of all their gods, and him they worship, with their eyes raised to heaven, as the creator of all things), and that this Viracocha stopped at Tiaguinaco, where are to be seen to-day the ruins and remains of ancient buildings exceedingly curious, and afterwards at Cuzco. Thus the human race began again to multiply.

However, I do not wish to deny that these great countries may have been peopled in another manner, to wit, that as men multiplied upon the earth, and continually spread, as they have done on this side, there is a likelihood that finally, moving from place to place, they reached these great provinces, either by the east or by the north or by both. For I consider that all parts of the main-land are joined together, or that at least even if there is a Strait, such as that of Anian² or

¹ A Spaniard, whose *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590) was translated into various languages. There is an English version of 1604.

² This name is given on Mercator's map of 1569 to our Behring Strait, which it was supposed led from the Pacific into the Atlantic around the head of North America.

Magellan, it is such as men can easily cross. The question of the passing over of animals is one which may cause our mind more hesitation. But one may say that it was easy to carry over the smaller species, and that the larger are capable of crossing narrow stretches of sea by themselves, as it is plausible that the Moose have passed from northern Europe to Labrador,¹ to Canada, and into the land of the Souriquois by way of the north; for we know positively that they never hesitate to cross arms of the sea, to shorten the journey from one district to another. And we read in the account of the first voyage of Captain Jacques Cartier that bears easily cross fourteen leagues of ocean, he having himself met one which was swimming across the sea between the main-land and the Island of Birds.²

But when I consider that by tradition from their forefathers the savages possess an obscure knowledge of the Flood, another conjecture occurs to me concerning the peopling of the West Indies, which has not yet been advanced. For what hinders us from believing that Noah during his life of 350 years after the Flood did not himself see to it, and take pains to people, or rather to repeople, these lands? Is it believable that he remained so long a space of time without engaging upon and carrying out many great and lofty enterprises? He who was a great workman and a great pilot, did he not know the art to make another vessel (for his own had stuck fast on the mountains of Ararat, that is to say, of Greater Armenia) in order to repair the desolation of the earth? He who had the knowledge of a thousand things which we have not, through the handing down of the wisdom breathed into our first parent, whose children he may have seen, was he ignorant of these western lands, where perchance he himself was born? In any case, indeed, it is presumable

¹ Probably our Greenland.

² Funk Island, 31 miles NE. of Cape Freels; on the east coast of Newfoundland.

that having the spirit of God, and having been specially chosen by Heaven to renew the earth, he had, by report at least, knowledge of these lands, to which he would have no more difficulty in setting sail, after peopling Italy, than in coming from the end of the Mediterranean to the Tiber, to found his Janiculum, if the profane historians are correct, as a thousand reasons would lead one to believe. For in whatever part of the world he found himself, he was among his children. It was no more difficult for him, I repeat, to go from the Straits of Gibraltar to New France, or from Cape Verde to Brazil, than for his children to carry their name to Java or to Japan; or for King Solomon to make voyages lasting three years, which some of the most learned men of this last century, and among others Francis Vatable,¹ say were made to Peru, whence he caused to be brought that great store of gold of Ophir, of exceeding fineness and purity, so celebrated in Holy Writ.

And if, presupposing such a thing to have been the case, the people of the West Indies have not preserved the holy deposit of the knowledge of God, and the goodly instruction which he may have left them, we must consider that the people of this hemisphere have done no better. In short, this conclusion seems to me to be founded on arguments as good as, or even better than the others. And Plato, having heard some vague rumour of this matter, has mentioned it in his *Timæus*, speaking as a man of his country, in the place where he discourses of that great island of Atlantis, which, as he never saw it himself nor any one else of his generation, he has pretended was sunk in the sea by a great flood. And after him Ælian, in the third book of his *Varia Historia*, reports something very similar, though he considers it a fable, and says, according to Theopompus, that "there was of old very great intimacy between Midas the Phrygian and Silenus. This Silenus was the son of

¹ The first Professor of Hebrew in the Collège de France, d. 1547.

a nymph, of rank inferior to the Gods but more noble than that of mortals. After having discussed various matters, Silenus went on to say that Europe, Asia, and Libya were islands surrounded by the Ocean, but that beyond this known world there was a continent of vast size, on which lived great animals and men twice as large as ourselves,¹ and living twice as long; that large cities, different ways of life, and laws contrary to ours were to be found there." Further on he says also that "this land possesses great quantity of gold and silver, so much so that among its inhabitants gold is less esteemed than iron among us."

Whoever will weigh these words will find them to be by no means untrue; and will conclude that in the first centuries men had knowledge of America and of other lands adjoining it, and that on their ceasing to go thither, owing to the length of the journey, this knowledge was lost, and only a vague tradition remained. For Pliny also complains that in his time men had become cowardly, and that navigation was so neglected that no men skilled in sailing could be found, so that foreign coasts were better known through the writings of those who had never seen them than by the statements of their inhabitants. "We think no longer," says he, "of seeking for new lands, or even of preserving the knowledge of those already discovered, though we have a firm peace and the sea is free, and opens her harbours to receive all." Thus though the Fortunate Isles (which are the Canaries) were well known and frequented in the first centuries after the Deluge, this knowledge was lost by the carelessness of mankind until a nobleman of Picardy, William² of Bethencourt,

¹ Such are the Patagonians. [L.]

² See Book, II. chap. iii. His real name was Jean de Bethencourt. See *Histoire de la première découverte et conquête des Canaries, faite des l'an 1402, par Messire Jean de Bethencourt, écrite du temps mesme par F. Pierre Bontier, religieux de Saint-François, et Jean le Verrier, prestre, domestiques dudict sieur de Bethencourt; et mise en lumière par G. de Bethencourt.* Paris,

discovered them in these last centuries, as we shall afterwards relate.

And as a last proof of the above plausible conjecture that the more remote centuries had knowledge of the Western lands beyond the Ocean, I shall here make mention of the many songs of the ancient poets concerning the Hesperides; for these they have placed toward the sunset, and they may thus with more reason be identified with the West Indies than with the Canaries or the Gorgon Islands. In regard to which I shall gladly leave off with the tale recounted by this same Pliny, on a matter full of obscurity, how a certain Statius Sebosus took forty days to sail from the Gorgons (which are the Islands of Cape Verd) to the Hesperides. Now not forty days, but only seven or eight, are necessary to go from the Gorgons to the Fortunate Isles (where some place the Hesperides), since the distance is but two hundred leagues. From which I conclude that the Hesperides are none other than the islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and others in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Mexico.

As for the dragon said to guard the golden apples of the Hesperides, forbidding entrance to any, the ancients wished by this to signify the channels which twist about among these islands, in the currents of which many vessels have been lost, a warning to go there no more. And if the great Hercules went there, and stole away the fruits thereof, the deed was not out of keeping with his valour.

1630. This rare work was republished in 1874 by M. Gabriel Gravier for the Société de l'Histoire de Normandie. In 1872 the Hakluyt Society published a translation with notes by R. H. Major. See also Margry (Pierre), *Nouvelles recherches sur Jean IV. de Bethencourt*. Paris, 1896.

CHAPTER IV

HAVING discussed the origin of the inhabitants of New France, it is now fitting to give a description of the extent, situation, and peculiarities of this country, of the nature of its people, of their manners, mode of life and customs, relying on the accounts left us by the first adventurers thither, and on our own notes and observations made during the period which we passed there. This I shall do, by God's help, in six books, in the first of which I shall describe the voyages made to Florida by Captains Verrazano, Ribaut, and Laudonnière; in the second, those made under M. de Villegagnon to the Antarctic France of Brazil; in the third, those of Jacques Cartier and Samuel Champlain to the great river of Canada; in the fourth, those of MM. de Monts and de Poutrincourt to the coast of the new-found land, which is bathed by the great ocean, as far [south] as the fortieth degree; in the fifth, what has been accomplished in these parts since our return to France in the year 1607; and in the sixth, the manners, modes of life, and customs of the tribes with whom we are concerned.

I comprise, then, in New France all the territory from the tropic of Cancer northwards, leaving the assertion of the right to Antarctic France to any one with the will and power to lay claim to it, and to the Spaniard the enjoyment of all beyond our above-mentioned tropic. Wherein I pay no attention to the partition formerly made by Pope Alexander VI. between the Kings of Portugal and Castile,¹ which should not pre-

¹ The famous Bull of May 4, 1493, by which Spain received all undiscovered lands to the west of a meridian drawn 100 leagues W. of the Azores and of the

judice the right which our Kings have justly acquired over the lands won by them, such as are those with which we are here concerned, the more so he acted as arbiter over things which no more belonged to those Kings who were quarrelling over them than to any one else. And even if the said Pope had so ordained in another capacity, putting aside the purely spiritual nature of his power outside his own territory, it is a question whether he could or should partition the younger children of the Church, without calling thereto the eldest.

Thus our New France will have as boundaries, to the west the land as far as the Pacific Ocean on this side of the tropic of Cancer; to the south the islands and the Atlantic Ocean in the neighbourhood of Cuba and Hispaniola; to the east the Northern Ocean, which bathes the shores of New France; and to the north the land called the unknown land¹ near the frozen sea as far as the North Pole. In this direction certain Portuguese and English navigators have pushed as far as the sixtieth or seventieth degree² to find a northern passage from one sea to the other; but after much toil it has been but labour wasted, either because of the excessive cold, or through lack of supplies necessary to pursue their voyage.

In the year 1524 John Verrazano, a Florentine, was sent on a voyage of discovery by our most Christian King, Francis I., and made a report thereon to His Majesty. Of this voyage I shall relate the principal occurrences, without stopping to follow the thread of his discourse. This, then, is what he writes:³ "After passing the island of Madeira, we were driven before a terrible tempest, which drove us northwards towards the Great Bear. After the sea grew calm we ran steadily in

Cape Verde Islands, and Portugal all to the eastward of it. In the next year, by mutual agreement, the line was shifted to 370 leagues W. of the Cape Verde Islands.

¹ Meta Incognita.

² In the editions of 1609 and 1611 this reads 56 or 67. The change is significant.

³ The original is found in Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, vol. iii. p. 420, &c. (Venice, 1556). See also Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, p. 208.

the same direction for twenty-five days, travelling more than four hundred leagues across the waves of Ocean, where we found a New Land, never, so far as one knows, explored or discovered by the ancients or the moderns; and as we approached it seemed to us to lie very low; but coming within a quarter of a league, we perceived by the great fires which were lighted in the bays and along the shore that it was inhabited, and that it faced toward the south; and in our endeavour to find a harbour wherein to disembark and explore the country, we sailed for more than fifty leagues in vain; so on seeing that the coast trended constantly toward the south, we decided to come about and sail back to the northward, following our original course. And finally, seeing that there was no means of finding a harbour, we anchored off the coast, and sent a skiff towards the shore, where we perceived a large number of the inhabitants of the country, who came down to the water's edge, but who fled as soon as they saw the Christians approaching them, yet not without often looking behind them, or without a pleased wonder at this unaccustomed sight in their country. They were amazed both at the clothing of our men and at their white skin and face, and showed them where they could more easily land." Then he adds: "They go entirely naked, save that they conceal their privy parts with the skins of certain animals resembling martens, which are attached to a grass girdle made for the purpose, very narrow, skilfully woven, and ornamented with several tails of other animals, which surround their body and cover them as far as the knees; some of them wear on their heads a covering like a hat, and garlands made of goodly plumes. This people is of a rather tawny colour, like the Moors of the Barbary States nearest to Europe; their hair is black, thick, and not very long, and worn tied in a knot and erect upon the head, exactly like a pig-tail. They have well-proportioned limbs, are of middle height, rather taller than ourselves,

broad-chested, with strong and supple arms; their feet and limbs are well made for running, and everything about them is well proportioned, save that with some exceptions their faces are too large. Their eyes are large and black; their glance quick and straight. They are rather feeble of body, but subtle and quick of wit, nimble, and the greatest and fastest runners in the world.

“Now as to the lie and situation of this land and sea-coast, it is all covered with fine sand, which rises to a height of about fifteen feet, and forms small hills and mounds, about fifty feet in width; further inland are found streams and arms of the sea entering through ditches and channels which water both banks. Beyond this one sees a wide stretch of land rising behind these sandy harbours, with very goodly meadows and plains, covered with thickets and very dense forests, so pleasant to see that it is a marvel; the trees are for the most part laurels, palms, and lofty cypresses, and others which are unknown in our Europe, and which give forth a very sweet smell, which made the French think that this land, being coterminous with the Orient, must, like it, abound in drugs and aromatic cordials, while the soil itself gives sufficient indications that it is not without mines of gold, silver, and other metals. This land is also abundant in stags, roes, and hares. There are lakes and ponds in plenty, rivers and streamlets of fresh water, and birds of different sorts, to omit nothing which can serve for human use.

“This country is about thirty-four degrees above the Equator, with an air pure and calm and very healthy and temperate, between hot and cold, and one feels that in this region violent and stormy winds do not breathe and blow; the East and West winds reign there, more especially in summer, and the sky is clear and rainless, save that sometimes the south wind blows, and brings up clouds and fogs; but that passes very quickly and the former sunshine returns.

The sea is calm, and without strong winds or tempestuous waves; and though the shore is low and destitute of harbours, it is not dangerous for ships, as there is not a single shoal, and right up to within five or six feet of the shore one finds twenty feet of water without ebb or flow. As for the high sea, one can easily lie at anchor there, even if a ship be buffeted by a storm, but nearer the roadstead it becomes dangerous." By this description one can see that the said Verrazano was the first to discover this coast, which had as yet no name, and which he calls New-found-land, but which has since been called Florida by the Spaniards, either because they first sighted it on Palm-Sunday,¹ or because it is all green and full of vegetation, even the waters being covered with grassy herbage; for formerly it was called Iaquaza by the people of the country.

As for the nature of the people of this country, our French give a very different account of them from the Spaniards, since being naturally more humane, gentle, and courteous, they received better treatment from them. For when John Ponce² went thither on a voyage of discovery, and set foot on shore, on his attempting to lay the foundations of some citadel or fort, he was so furiously attacked by a sudden onset of the inhabitants, that in addition to the loss of a great number of his soldiers, he received a mortal wound, whereof he died soon after, which brought his enterprise to naught, and on that occasion the Spaniards explored only the spot whereon they were seeking to build their nest.

Since then also, Hernando de Soto, rich in the spoils of Peru, after having carried off the treasures of Atabalippa, fain to undertake great enterprises, was sent into these parts with

¹ Ponce de Leon sighted the mainland of Florida on Easter Sunday (Lat. *Pascha Floridum*; Sp. *Pascua Florida*), March 27, 1513. Lescarbot has confused the Spanish title for Easter with the French *Pâques-fleuries*, Palm-Sunday, the Sunday before Easter (Lat. *Dominica in Palmis*).

² Ponce de Leon. This was on another voyage, in 1521.

an army by the Emperor Charles V. in the year 1534.¹ But driven on by his insatiable avarice, seeking for gold mines before building forts, while he thus wandered about at random, unable to find the object of his endeavours and his hopes, he died of shame and grief, and his straggling soldiers were butchered in large numbers by the Savages. Again, in the year 1548² a fresh expedition was sent by the same Charles V., who were served in the same way, some of them being flayed, and their skins hung up at the doors of the temples.

Our Florentine Verrazano, having, we may presume, conducted himself with more humanity toward these people, received from them every courtesy, and in this regard states that they are so gracious and kindly that when the French, wishing to know what manner of people dwelt along this coast, but being unable to land because of the waves and currents, sent to them a young sailor, to offer them certain small commodities, on his being violently cast upon the shore by the waves, after he had thrown the objects towards them, for he mistrusted them, the Indians (this name he applies to them all), seeing him in this state, pick him up and carry him to a distance from the shore, to the great astonishment of the poor sailor, who expected presently to be sacrificed, and therefore cried out for help and aid, while the Barbarians also cried out to reassure him. Having set him down at the foot of a hill, facing the sun, they stripped him naked, and were greatly astonished at the whiteness of his skin. Then lighting a large fire, they brought him to and restored his strength; and then it was that not only this poor young fellow, but also those in the boat, thought that these Indians were about

¹ De Soto sailed from Havana in 1539, and after three years of wandering, died in 1542.

² No such expedition took place. Lescarbot probably refers to the disastrous attempt of the missionaries in 1549. See Lowery (Woodbury), *Spanish Settlements in America*, 1513-1561.

to murder him and roast his flesh in this great bonfire, and then take their fill of it, as do the cannibals. But it befell quite otherwise. For having come to his senses, after remaining some time with them, he made signs to them that he wished to return to the ship, back to which they led him with great marks of friendship, embracing him most tenderly. And, to give him more confidence, they kept their distance from him, and held back until he was at the water's edge.

After journeying some hundred leagues in the direction of the coast now called Virginia, they came to another country, fairer and more pleasant than the former, the inhabitants of which were whiter, and clothed themselves in certain grasses which hung from the boughs of trees, which they interweave with threads of wild hemp, whereof they have great abundance.

They live on vegetables which resemble ours; and on fish, and birds which they net, or shoot with their bows, the arrows whereof are made of reeds and canes, and tipped with the bones of fish or of animals.

They employ canoes and vessels made of a single piece, as do the Mexicans; the soil of their territory is very pleasant, fertile, and rich in plant life, with many thickets and trees, but not so odoriferous, since their country lies further toward the north; hence, being colder, the flowers and fruits have not the same strong smell as those of the above-mentioned countries.

The soil there brings forth vines and grapes without cultivation, and these vines climb up the trees, as one sees them trained in Lombardy, and in various parts of Gascony; the fruit is good, and of the same taste as ours, and though they do not make wine of it, yet they eat of it, and though they do not cultivate the plant, yet they pick off the leaves which might hurt it and prevent the fruit from coming to maturity.

There one sees also wild roses, lilies, violets, and other sweet-smelling plants different to ours.

As for their houses, they are made of wood, and built in the trees, and in some districts their only resting-place is the earth, and their only covering the sky, and thus they are each and all lodged at the sign of the Crescent Moon, as also are those who dwell along these districts and sea-coasts.

In brief, our Verrazano describes in great detail this coast, all of which he has explored as far as the Newfoundland-lands where the cod-fishery is carried on.

But inasmuch as in our late voyage under the direction of M. de Poutrincourt, in the year 1606, we explored only as far [south] as the fortieth degree; in order that the reader may know the whole of our New France, I shall place here the account left us by the same writer of a country which he places in the same latitude as the city of Rome, to wit, forty degrees north of the line, which is a part of the country of the Armouchiquois (for he does not give the name of a single one of the places which he has seen). He says, then, that he saw two Kings, that is to say two Chiefs, and their escort, all going naked, save that their privy parts were covered with the skins of deer or of some other wild animal; the men and women were well formed, and courteous beyond all others on this coast, and had no regard for gold or silver, nor did they hold in admiration either the looking-glasses of the Christians or the sheen of their arms; but merely inquired how they had been thus fashioned. He saw their dwellings, which were made like a bedstead, borne on four pillars and covered with a kind of straw, like our matting, to protect them against the rain. And if they had our knowledge of building, they could very easily use it, because of the abundance of stones of every sort which they possess; the beaches being covered with marble and jasper and other kinds of stones. They are nomadic, and carry their lodges with them as often as they think

good, setting up a similar dwelling in a twinkling, wherein each father of a family dwells with his own, so that one may see twenty or thirty persons in a lodge. When ill they heal themselves with fire,¹ and die more from old age than anything else. They live on vegetables, like the others of whom we have spoken, and watch the course of the moon for the proper season to sow. They are also very compassionate toward their parents when they are dying or in trouble; for they weep and lament over them; and when death comes, they sing I know not what manner of verses, calling to remembrance their past life.

This is in brief the substance of what our Florentine Captain writes concerning the peoples discovered by him. One writer relates that on reaching Cape Breton, which is the entry for sailing toward the great river of Canada, he was captured and eaten by the Savages. This I can with difficulty believe, seeing that he gave to the King the above account of his voyage, and seeing that in those parts the people are not anthropophagous, and content themselves with carrying off the heads of their enemies. It is true, however, that further north lives a Savage tribe² which carries on perpetual war with our sailors who are engaged in fishing. But I understand that the quarrel is not so old, but is an affair of the last twenty years only, when the Malouïns killed the wife of a chief, whose vengeance is not yet appeased. For in general all these barbarous peoples seek for vengeance, and never forget, but leave the memory thereof to their children. And the Christian religion has this perfection among others, that it moderates these unbridled passions, very often remitting the wrong, the punishment and its execution, to the judgment of God.³

¹ *i.e.* with sweat-baths.

² Probably the Beothicks of Newfoundland.

³ The expedition of Verrazano was rendered of no effect by the defeat and capture of Francis I. at the battle of Pavia (February 24, 1525). The fate of Verrazano is doubtful. See J. Winsor, *Critical and Narrative History of America*, vol. iv. p. 9.

CHAPTER V

ALTHOUGH with tide and wind alike in our favour we have been carried beyond the limits of Florida, and have reached the fortieth degree, yet there will be no danger to 'Bout Ship and retrace our journey, especially as, if we endeavour to pass on, we shall come upon the breakers of Malebarre,¹ the land of the Armouchiquois, and be in danger of shipwreck unless we are willing to keep out to sea ; but if we do this we shall not visit the peoples on whose account we put forth on the great Ocean. Let us, then, return to Florida, for I hear that since our departure the King has sent men thither to set up French settlements and colonies.

Therefore, although in accordance with chronological order it would be fitting to recount here the voyages of Captain Jacques Cartier, I think it better to continue without interruption my account of Florida, and to show how we French, sent thither by order of the King, were the first to inhabit it, and formed alliances and treaties of friendship with its chiefs and rulers.²

In the year 1562 the Admiral de Chatillon,³ a nobleman of honourable memory, but who entangled himself too far in the prejudices of the Protestants, anxious to advance the good name of France, made representations to the young King Charles IX., himself inclined to great deeds, as a result of which he thought good to send a number of men to Florida, at that date still uninhabited by Christians, to establish the name of God there under his authority. Of

¹ Nauset Harbour in the Gulf of Maine.

² For the sources used by Lescarbot, see H. P. Biggar in *American Historical Review* for July 1901.

³ Gaspard de Coligni, Seigneur de Châtillon-sur-Loire, Admiral of France (1517-72).

this expedition John Ribaut was named commander, a man of weight and of great experience in seamanship, who, after having received the command from the King, put to sea on February 18 accompanied by two galleys¹ which had been fitted out for him, having on board a number of gentlemen workmen, and soldiers. After sailing for two months, he arrived at New France, and made land near a low-lying Cape or Promontory about thirty degrees distant from the Equator (for all this coast is flat, as we have seen above in our description of the voyage of John Verrazano). This he called French Cape in honour of our France.

Here he left the coast of Florida, which bends back due Southwards towards the island of Cuba till it ends in a three-cornered point, and coasted toward the north, and in a short time discovered a very fine large river, which he resolved to explore. Landing on its banks, he received a friendly welcome from the people, who made him presents of deer-skins; not far from its mouth, on a mound of sandy soil, he ordered to be set up in the river itself a column of hewn stone whereon were imprinted and carved the arms of France. And going further inland to explore the country, he stopped on the other side of this river, where, on his landing to offer prayers and thanks to God, the people believed the French were worshipping the Sun, because when praying they turned their gaze to heaven. The Indian chief of this side of the river, whom the historian of the voyage calls King, made the said Ribaut a present of an egret's plume dyed red, of a basket made of palm leaves woven very skilfully, and of a large skin wrought all over with divers wild animals, represented and portrayed in so lifelike a manner that nothing was lacking save life. In return the French Captain gave him some little bracelets of tin, silver gilt, a sickle, a looking-glass, and some knives,

¹ The *roberge* or *ramberge* (English, row-barge) was a vessel of English origin, longer and narrower than an ordinary galley.

wherewith he was much pleased, but grieved greatly at the departure of the French, to whom in taking farewell he presented a great quantity of fish. While crossing the river, these tribes plunged in up to their armpits to welcome our men with presents of millet and white and red mulberries, and to carry them to shore. Here they went to visit the King of these Indians (whom I prefer to call Chief), whom they found seated on a pile of cedar and laurel boughs, having at his side his two sons, young men of great beauty and strength. He was surrounded by a troop of Indians, all of whom had bows in their hands, and on their backs quivers full of arrows in admirable order. In this district there is great quantity of silkworms, on account of the mulberry-trees. And since our men arrived there on the first day of May,¹ the river was called by the name of that month.

Continuing their journey thence, they came to another river, which they called the Seine, on account of its resemblance to our Seine. Passing on towards the North-East, they found yet another river, which they named the Somme, where there was a chief not less affable than the others. Further on yet another, which they called the Loire. And in succession five others, to which they gave the names of our rivers Charente, Garonne, and Gironde; the two others they called the Beautiful and the Grand; all these nine rivers within the space of sixty leagues, the names whereof the Spaniards have changed in their maps; and if some are found whereon these names are used, we owe it to the Dutch.

Now, as a man must cut his coat according to his cloth, so our French, finding all this coast uninhabited by Christians, desired to plant themselves where they thought best, and passing steadily on to the North-East, found a larger and more beautiful river, which they thought to be the

¹ The most probable identification of this and of the following rivers is given in Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*.

Jordan, whereof they were very fain; and perchance this is indeed it, for it is one of the most beautiful along the whole of this coast. Its depth is such, especially when the sea begins to flow in, that the largest ships of France, or even the carracks of Venice, could enter it. So they cast anchor in ten fathoms of water, and called this spot and the river itself Port Royal. As for the quality of the soil, nothing finer could be seen, for it was thickly covered with tall oaks and cedars in infinite number, and above them lentiscus so sweet in smell that this alone made the spot desirable. And making their way through the branches, they saw nothing save pheasants flying about the forests, and gray and red partridges slightly different from ours, especially in size. They heard also stags brushing through the woods, bears, wild-cats, leopards, and other species of animals unknown to us. As for the fishing, one cast of a net was enough to feed the crew for a whole day.

This river is at its mouth three French leagues wide from cape to cape. They sailed far up-stream, and found many Indians, who at first fled on their approach, but later on were soon tamed, and exchanged presents with them, and wished to keep them among them, promising them marvels. Finding a suitable spot in one of the branches of this river, they planted on a little islet a post whereon were carved the arms of France. Moreover, these tribes are so happy in their manner of life, that they would be very loath to leave it for ours. And herein is the condition of our lower classes extremely miserable (leaving out religious considerations), in that they gain nothing without incredible pains and labour, whereas the Indians have abundance of every necessary of life. And if they are not dressed in velvet and satin, happiness lies not in these; on the contrary, desire for such things, and other superfluities whereof we are fain, are the plagues of our life. For to win these, a man who knows not where to turn for his dinner must needs use

wondrous stratagems, wherein very often his conscience becomes entangled. Nevertheless does not every man use these artifices; one desires work and cannot find wherewith to occupy himself; another labours at work which earns him nothing; and hence a thousand in poverty among us. But among these tribes all are rich, if they had the grace of God, for this world's true riches is contentment. The earth and the sea supply their needs abundantly, and they use this bounty without seeking for methods of disguising their meats, nor for so many sauces which very often cost more than the fish, and are most troublesome to obtain. And if they have not so many dishes as we, they can say on their side that we have not the same freedom to hunt the stag and other forest animals as they, nor an easy abundance of sturgeon, salmon, and a thousand other fish.

Our French paid long court to two young Indians, to carry them into France and present them to the Queen, in obedience to her orders; but it was not possible to detain them, for they fled without taking the clothes that had been given them. In the time of the Emperor Charles V., the Spaniards inhabiting St. Domingo inveigled by cunning some of that coast to the number of forty, to work in their mines; but they did not reap the expected fruit, for the Indians starved themselves to death, save one, who was carried to the Emperor, who shortly afterwards had him baptized and gave him his own name. And since this Indian spoke constantly of his chief (or king) Chiquola, he was called Charles de Chiquola. This Chiquola was one of the greatest chiefs of that district, and dwelt up-country in a town or large enclosure, wherein there were houses very goodly and high.

Now, Captain Ribaut, after having thoroughly explored this river, in his desire to colonise the country, assembled his men and made them a long speech encouraging them to make up their minds to inhabit it, showing them what perpetual

honour it would be to them to have undertaken an enterprise so fair though so difficult. With this intent he did not forget to set before them the examples of those who from low estate had come to great power, such as the Emperor *Ælius Pertinax*, who, though the son of a cobbler, thought it no shame to make known the lowliness of his birth, but to excite men of courage, even if poor, to high hopes, had his father's shop re-covered with curiously wrought marble. He told them also of the valiant and brave *Agathocles*, who, born the son of a potter, became King of Sicily, and amid his gold and silver plate had himself served also on earthenware in memory of his father's condition. Also of *Rusten Pacha*, whose father was a herdsman, but who by his valour and worth rose so high that he married the daughter of his master the Sultan. Hardly had he finished his speech, when the greater part of the soldiers cried out that no greater happiness could befall them than to perform a deed whose success would redound to the contentment of their King and to the increase of their honour. They did but ask their Captain before leaving the spot to build them a fort, or to begin its construction, and to leave them the necessary munitions for their defence. Already they longed to see it completed.

The Captain, finding them in such good heart, was greatly rejoiced, and chose a spot on the north side of the river, the most suitable and spacious and satisfactory to its future inhabitants which could possibly be found. This was an island terminating in a point near the river's mouth, into which flows another small stream, deep enough nevertheless to draw up galleys and galliots within it in fair number; and further on along this island, he found a very level spot close to the water's edge, to which he descended, and there built the fortress, which he stocked with provisions and munitions of war for its defence. Then having furnished them with everything whereof they had need, he made up his mind to take leave of them. But

before his departure, calling Captain Albert, whom he was leaving in command, he said: "Captain Albert, it is my duty to request you, in presence of all, to be careful, to acquit yourself so wisely of your duty, and to govern the little band which I leave you (they were but forty), which so cheerily remains behind under your orders, with such moderation that I may never have occasion other than to praise you, and to speak out before His Majesty (as I greatly desire to do) the faithful service which, in the presence of us all, you promise to perform for him in his New France. And you, comrades," said he to the soldiers, "I adjure you also to recognise the authority of Captain Albert, as though I myself were remaining, rendering unto him such obedience as the true soldier should pay to his commander and Captain, living in good fellowship one with another, with no dissension; for if you act thus, God will assist you and bless your enterprise."

CHAPTER VI

ON finishing his speech, Captain Ribaut gave to this French fort the name of Fort Charles, in honour of King Charles, and to the little river that of Chenonceau.¹ And taking leave of all, he withdrew with his troop into his vessels. On the morrow he hoisted sail, and saluted the French of Florida with many cannonades to bid them farewell, while they for their part did not forget to render him the like.

Behold them, then, with all sails set toward the north-east to explore more of the coast. Fifteen leagues from Port Royal they found a river, which, on discovering that it had but half a fathom of water at its deepest, they named Shallow River. Putting out thence into the salty deep, they found themselves in difficulties, and knew not what to do, getting only six, five, four, three fathoms of water with the lead, although they were six leagues out to sea. The Captain then furled the sails and called a council to discuss what they should do, whether to pursue their exploration, or to set sail toward the east, seeing that he had of a certainty made explorations, and even left Frenchmen who already occupied the land. Some said that they had already occasion to be content, seeing that he could do no more, and set before him that in six weeks he had explored more than the Spaniards had done in two years of conquests in their New Spain; and that it would be a great service to the King if in so short a space of time he brought him news of so fortunate a voyage. Others

¹ A castle of Catharine de Médicis in Touraine.

pointed out the loss and waste of their provisions, and also the discomfort which might arise from the scantiness of the supply of fresh water which day by day they found along the coast. After long debate he resolved to change his course, and to turn eastwards to make his way straight back to France, wherein he arrived on July 20, 1562.

Meantime Captain Albert busied himself with the formation of alliances and treaties with the Paraoustis (or chiefs) of the country, among others with one named Audusta, through whom he obtained the acquaintance and friendship of four others, to wit, Mayon, Hoya, Touppa, and Stalame, whom he visited, and they honoured each other by interchanging gifts. The home of the said Stalame was fifteen good leagues from Fort Charles on the north bank of the river; and in pledge of friendship, he gave to Captain Albert his bow and arrows and some deer-skins. As for Audusta, his friendship was so great that he entered on no deed or undertaking of importance without the advice of our French. He even invited them to the feasts which at certain seasons they celebrate. Among these is one which they call Toya, when strange ceremonies are performed. The people assemble in the house (or lodge) of the Paraousti, and after painting and adorning themselves with feathers of divers colours, they proceed to the place of the Toya, which is a large circular spot. On their arrival they range themselves in rows; then come three others painted in another manner, each holding a timbrel; these enter into the midst of the circle, dancing and singing mournfully, followed by the others who sing in response. After thrice circling the ring in this manner, they suddenly rush like unbridled horses through the depths of the forests. Thereupon the women begin to weep, and continue thereat the livelong day in the most melancholy fashion imaginable; and in their mad excitement they seize the maidens by the arms, which they gash cruelly with sharpened mussel-

shells, insomuch that the blood gushes out; this they throw into the air, thrice crying "He Toya!" The three who lead off the ceremony are called Joanas, and serve as the priests and sacrificers of the people of Florida, who place in them faith and belief, partly because they are an hereditary sacrificial caste, partly also because they are such crafty magicians that by their aid anything lost is at once recovered. And they are not only revered for these reasons, but also for a certain science and knowledge of herbs which they have whereby they cure the sick.

In every nation of the world the priesthood has always been revered, and the more so because those of this rank are, as it were, the mediators between God (or what they esteem God) and men. By this means they have often gained possession of the people, and subjected their souls to their service, and on this pretext have in many places won an unreasonable authority. This has moved various Kings and Emperors to envy this dignity, recognising that it could greatly aid in the preservation of their state. He also who can discover missing objects for which we are grieving is justly honoured by us, especially when in addition he has knowledge of things fit to cure our bodily ills, a marvellously powerful instrument for acquiring credit and authority among men: which has been noticed in Holy Scripture, when it says by the mouth of the wise man, the son of Sirach, "Honour a physician with the honour due unto him for the uses which ye may have of him. The skill of the physician shall lift up his head: and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration."

These priests then, or rather Diviners, who thus fled into the woods, return two days later; and on their arrival begin to dance with lightsome courage in the very centre of the ring, and to cheer the good Indian Elders, who from their age or infirmity were not called to the ceremony; then they begin

to feast, but with such great rapacity that they seem rather to devour than to eat. Now these Joanas, during the two days that they are thus in the woods, make invocations to Toya (who is the demon they consult), and by magic spells make him come in order to speak with him, and put to him certain questions on the matters which they have in hand. To this festival our French were invited, as also to the banquet. But after their return to Fort Charles, I cannot find whereat they busied themselves; and I am fain to believe that they made good cheer as long as their provisions lasted, without thought of the morrow, or of ploughing and sowing the soil, which they should not have omitted, since the intention of the King was to colonise the province, and their stay was with a view to this. Quite otherwise was the conduct of M. de Poutrincourt on our voyage. For from the very day after our arrival at Port Royal (a harbour no whit inferior to the other whereof we have spoken, in the things which give contentment to the eyes) he employed his workmen at this, as we shall tell in due course, and took such care of his provisions that no man ever lacked bread or wine, and we had ten barrels of flour left over, and as much wine as we needed; yea, even more; but those who came to fetch us, over whom a young sprig of St. Malo named Chevalier had been put in command, gave us good aid in drinking it, instead of bringing us supplies.

Our French, then, of Fort Charles, whether through lack of foresight or otherwise, at the end of some time found themselves short of provisions, and were constrained to importune their neighbours, who stripped themselves for them, reserving only the seeds necessary to sow their fields, which they do about the month of March. By this I conjecture that from the month of January they had nothing left. On this account the Indians advised them to retire into the woods, and to live on nuts and roots until the harvest. They also advised them to go toward the lands of a powerful and

dreaded chief named Covecxis, who dwelt further to the south in a district abounding at every season in millet, flour, and beans, saying that with his aid and that of his brother Ovadé, also a great chief, they could obtain provisions for a very long period, and that these people would be very glad to see them and to make their acquaintance. Our French, already pinched by necessity, accepted this advice, and putting to sea with a pilot, found Ovadé at twenty-five leagues from Fort Charles, on the Beautiful River, who in his language testified to them the great pleasure which he had to see them come thither, and protested that for the future he would be to them so loyal a friend, that he would be their faithful protector against all who wished them ill. His house was tapestried with plumage of divers colours to the height of a pikestaff, and his bed covered with white blankets, woven in sections curiously wrought, and fringed all about with a fringe dyed in scarlet. There they exposed their needs, which were at once supplied by the Indian chief, who also made them a present of six pieces of his tapestries such as we have described. In recompense therefor the French presented him with some sickles and other commodities, and returned. But just when they supposed themselves at ease, in the night a sudden fire, fanned by the wind, seized with such fury on their dwellings that everything was consumed save a small supply of ammunition. In this extremity the Indians took pity on them, and gallantly aided them to rebuild their house, and for provisions they again had recourse to the Chief Ovadé, and also to his brother Covecxis, to whom they went and recounted the disaster which had ruined them, for which cause they implored their aid in this necessity. Nor were they deceived in their expectation; for these worthy folk most liberally shared their stores with them, with the promise of more if that were not enough. Presents also were forthcoming on both sides; but Ovadé gave to our French a number of most beautiful pearls, some silver ore, and two

stones of fine crystal which these people dig up at the base of certain high mountains at ten days' distance. Thereupon the French departed and retired to their fort. But evil would have it that those whom neither fire nor water could overcome were conquered by themselves. For division broke out among them through the harshness or cruelty of their Captain, who with his own hands hung one of his soldiers for a very trivial cause. And when he proceeded to threaten the others with punishment (it may be that they were not obeying him, as I can well believe), and more than once put his threats into practice, mutiny broke out among them so fiercely that they put him to death. The chief reason was the degradation in rank inflicted on another soldier, whom he had sent into exile, and to whom he had broken his word. For he had promised to send him provisions from week to week, which he did not do, but on the contrary said that he would be extremely glad to hear of his death. He also said that he wished to inflict the same punishment on others, and used language so objectionable that decency forbids me to repeat it. The soldiers, seeing his rage augmenting daily, and fearing to share the same fate as the first, resolved on what we have said, which was to put him to death.

A Captain in charge of a number of men, chiefly volunteers, as were those, and in a country so remote, should make use of much discretion, and should not take seriously all that goes on among soldiers, who themselves love glory and the point of honour. Nor, further, should he so far deprive himself of friends that in his company he has not the larger part at his disposal, especially those of the better class. Moreover, he should consider that in the preservation of his men lies his strength, and in their loss his ruin. I can say (and that without flattery) of M. de Poutrincourt that during our whole voyage he never struck one of his men, and that if any one was at fault, he made a pretence of striking him in such wise as to give him time to escape. Nevertheless

correction is sometimes necessary, but we do not see that by a multitude of punishments the world has ever become better. This is why Seneca says that the fairest and the most worthy ornament of a prince was this crown : "For having preserved his fellow citizens."

CHAPTER VII

AFTER executing their design, our mutineers returned in search of the exiled soldier, who was on a little islet three leagues distance from Fort Charles, whereon they found him half dead with hunger. On their return they held a meeting to choose a Captain, and the choice fell on Nicholas Barré, a man worthy of command, who lived in harmony with them. Meanwhile they began to build a small brigantine in hope of sailing back to France, if the aid which they daily expected did not arrive. And though not one of them understood the art, yet necessity, which teaches everything, showed them the way. But in the case of sea-going vessels, to have the timber collected counts for very little. For such quantities of tackle are necessary that the wooden hull seems but a small part of the business. They had neither ropes nor sails nor wherewith to caulk their vessel, nor means of obtaining it. Nevertheless, finally God provided for them. For as they were in this perplexity Audusta and Macon, the Indian chiefs, arrived with a following of an hundred men, who, on hearing the complaint of the French, promised to return in two days, and to bring so large a quantity of ropes that there would be enough to equip the brigantine. Meanwhile our men went through the woods gathering as much spruce gum as they could, wherewith they smeared their vessel. They also used moss to stop or caulk her.¹ As for the sails, these were made of their shirts and the sheets of their beds. The Indians did not fail to keep their word, which so pleased our French that they freely let them have all the goods which

¹ *Calage* is not the same as *calfeutrage*, which latter is alone meant here.

were left. On finishing the brigantine, they put to sea very badly supplied with provisions, and without due preparation, considering the length of the voyage and the great accidents which may happen on so spacious an ocean. For after accomplishing no more than a third of their voyage, they were overtaken by such wearisome calms that in three weeks they did not advance twenty-five leagues. During this time their provisions grew less and less, and became so scanty that each was obliged to live on twelve grains of millet a day, which are about equal to a dozen peas; and even this good fortune did not last, for on a sudden their provisions failed, and they had no better resource than their shoes and leather collars, which they ate. For drink, some used the sea water, others their urine; and in this great necessity they remained a very long time, during which some of them died of starvation. Moreover, their vessel leaked, and they were greatly hindered from stanching it, especially when the sea was rough, as it frequently was, so that sometimes, like men in despair, they abandoned everything, and sometimes took a little courage again. Finally, in their last despair, some of them proposed that it was expedient that one man should die rather than that so great a company should perish; in pursuance of which they agreed that one should die to sustain the others. This was carried out in the person of Lachere, the same who had been sent into exile by Captain Albert, whose flesh was divided equally among them all, a deed so horrible to relate that my pen falls from my hand. After so many labours they finally made land, whereat they were so greatly delighted that for joy they were for a long time practically delirious, and allowed the brigantine to drift hither and thither without guidance. But a small English galley boarded their vessel, wherein was a Frenchman who had gone to New France in the previous year with Captain Ribaut. This Frenchman recognised them and spoke to them, and then had food and drink given them. Straight-

way they regained their natural spirits, and recounted to him their voyage in detail. The English held a long consultation as to what they should do. Finally, they resolved to put the weakest on shore, and to carry the rest to the Queen of England.

Two faults must be pointed out in their conduct, one that they did not cultivate the soil which they wished to colonise, the other that they did not keep in reserve or build in time a boat wherewith, in case of necessity, to return home. It is well to have a horse in stable, to escape when resistance is impossible. But I suspect that those sent thither were a cowardly rabble gathered out of the dregs, who preferred to see a task done rather than gladly do it themselves.¹

¹ This is a reversal of his opinion in the editions of 1609 and 1611-12, in which he had divided the blame between Ribaut and Coligny.

CHAPTER VIII

WHEN Captain Ribaut arrived in France he found the flame of civil war aglow, which was in part the cause why the French had not been relieved as had been promised them, why Captain Albert had been killed, and the country abandoned. On the conclusion of peace, Admiral de Chatillon, who had taken no thought of his colonists while making war on his prince, spoke of them to the King¹ at the end of two years, pointing out that nothing had been heard of them, and that it would be a pity to allow them to be lost. On hearing this his Majesty gave him permission to fit out three vessels, one of six score tons, one of one hundred, one of sixty, to go in search of them with reinforcements; but it was very late in the day.

Captain Laudonnière, a gentleman of Poitou, was placed in command of these three ships, and set sail from Havre de Grace on April 22, 1564, setting his course straight for the Fortunate Isles, now called the Canaries, in one of which called Teneriffe, otherwise the Peak, is a sight wondrous worthy of being recorded here. This is a mountain in the midst of the island, so exceedingly high that many affirm they have seen it from a distance of fifty or sixty leagues. It closely resembles Mount Ætna, throwing forth flames like Monte Gibello in Sicily, and goes sheer up into a peak, which cannot be climbed save between mid-May and mid-August, because of the excessive cold; a circumstance the more wondrous in that it is only twenty-seven and a half

¹ Charles IX.; but the real ruler was the queen-mother, Catharine de Medicis. See chap. xii. p. 95.

degrees from the Equator. Snow is seen on it as late as the month of May, for which reason Solinus¹ has called it Nivaria, as one may say The Island of Snows. Some think that this mountain is the same as that called by the Ancients Mount Atlas, whence the Atlantic Ocean has taken its name.

Thence with a favouring wind our French came in fifteen days to the Antilles, and then to St. Domingo, which is one of the fairest islands of the West, very mountainous and of very agreeable odour. Off the coast of this island two Indians wished to come on board, but one became frightened and fled, while the other was caught, and in this hap knew not what to do, so terrified was he, thinking himself in the hands of the Spaniards, who had formerly castrated him, as he showed the French. Finally, however, he took courage, and was given a shirt and some small trinkets. This jealous race forbids approach to their lodges, and killed a Frenchman who ventured too near. No vengeance was taken for various reasons, which do not appeal to the Spaniards, who have sometimes perchance been thus incited to the cruelties which they have committed. These, it is true, have been excessive, and the more abominable in that they have extended even to Frenchmen, who were occupying a district by just and fair conquest, without doing them wrong, as we shall relate at the end of this book. On this island of St. Domingo are serpents of enormous size. Our French, while seeking in the forest for certain excellent fruits called pineapples, killed one of these serpents full nine feet long, and as thick as a man's leg.

Their arrival in New France was on June 22, thirty degrees from the Equator, ten leagues above French Cape, and thirty leagues above the river May.² Here our men

¹ Solinus (Caius Julius), a Roman writer of the third century A.D. His book, *Collectanea rerum mirabilium*, also known as *Polyhistor*, is in great part a collection of extracts from the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny, and enjoyed a great vogue during the Middle Ages.

² The St. John's River in Florida.

cast anchor in a little river which they called the river of Dolphins,¹ where they were most courteously and humanely received by the peoples of the country, and by their Paraousti (a word meaning King or Chief), but to the great regret of these natives they proceeded toward the river May, on their arrival at which the chief named Satouriana, with his two sons, tall, strong, and goodly young men, and a great number of Indians, came to meet them, unable to express the joy which they had at their coming. The Indians showed them the mark set up by Captain Ribaut two years before, which in honour of the occasion they had crowned with wreaths, and had laid at its foot many small baskets of millet, which they call *tapaga tapola*. They kissed it several times, and invited the French to do the same. Herein one may see the great power of Nature, who had established such sympathy between these peoples and the French, and a complete antipathy between them and the Spaniards.

I must not stop to describe all the incidents which took place on this voyage, fearing by over minuteness to weary the reader, but only the more general occurrences and such as are worthy of being known. Our men then, desirous of exploring the country, went up the river, in which, when they had proceeded some distance and were worn out by their journey, they found some Indians, who took fright, on seeing which our men shouted to them, calling: *Antipola Bonnason*, which means Brother, Friend, corresponding to *Nigmach* in the country where we dwelt, and to *Hirmo* in other places. At this word they drew near, and our French, perceiving that the first was followed by four others who were holding up the tail of his coat of skins, suspected that it was the chief, and that they should advance to meet him. This chief made a long speech, to the effect that our party should go into his lodge, and in sign of friendship he gave his deer-skin robe or mantle to the leader of the French

¹ The harbour of St. Augustine in Florida.

troop, named M. d'Ottigni. When passing through a swamp, the Indians carried our men on their shoulders. At length arrived, they were received with much friendship, and saw an old man the father of five generations, and on asking his age found that he was about three hundred years old. Moreover he was absolutely fleshless, and nothing save bones could be seen; but his eldest son looked strong enough to live for another thirty years. Meanwhile Captain Laudonnière visited a mountain, whereon he found cedars, palms, and laurels more fragrant than balm; also vines in such quantity that they alone would make the country worth colonising, and in addition great quantities of China-root¹ climbing on the bushes; also meadows along the river cut up into isles and islets, a most pleasant sight. This done, he set out thence on his way to the river Seine,² about four leagues distant from the river May, then to the river Somme, where he landed and was most civilly received by the Chief, a tall, grave, and shapely Indian, as were also his wife and five daughters of a most agreeable comeliness. The wife made him a present of five small silver balls, and the chief gave him his bow and arrows, which among them is a sign of compact and perpetual alliance. He wished to see the effect of our arquebuses, and when he saw that the result was immeasurably greater than that of their bows and arrows he became very thoughtful, but endeavoured to conceal any sign of astonishment.

After having wandered along the coast, at length it became necessary to think of a settlement. On holding a consultation, it was obvious that at Cape Florida the whole country was marshy, that Port Royal³ was a most delightful spot, but not so wide or suitable as was needed, since they desired to plant a new colony. Therefore they thought it better to

¹ *Smilax pseudo-China* = American or false China-root. Range: Maryland to Nebraska, south to Florida and Texas.

² The St. Mary's River, now the boundary between Florida and Georgia.

³ The Broad River, in South Carolina, not to be confounded with Port Royal in Acadia.

settle at the river May, where the country abounds not only in millet (otherwise called by us buckwheat, Indian wheat, Turkish wheat, Mahé wheat) but also in gold and silver. Therefore on June 29 they turned back and proceeded toward the said river, where they chose the most agreeable spot they could, where they returned thanks to God, and set themselves to work in eager rivalry to build a fort, and the buildings necessary to lodge them, aided by the chief of the river, named Satouriana, who employed his men in gathering palm-leaves to cover the barns and houses. This was done with despatch. But it is noteworthy that in this country one cannot build many storeys high, because of the fierce winds to which it is subject. I believe that it shares to a certain extent in the violence of the Hurricane, whereof we shall speak in another place. On the completion of their fortress it was given the name of Carolina, in honour of King Charles, the situation of which can be seen by the drawing we have made, and which is here appended,¹ of the country explored by the French in Florida.

¹ See end of volume.

CHAPTER IX

WHEN Captain Laudonnière set out from the river May, to proceed toward the river Seine, he endeavoured to find out whence came an ingot of silver which the chief Satouriana had given him; and was told that it had been won by force of arms, when the Floridians went to war with a certain chief named Timogona, who dwelt far up-country. Therefore, when Carolina was finished, Captain Laudonnière, not wishing to remain inactive, and calling to mind the said Timogona, sent his lieutenant up the river May with two Indians to explore the country and to find out his dwelling. After sailing some twenty leagues the Indians, who were looking this way and that, discovered three *Almadies* (or small boats), and immediately set up a shout of "Timogona, Timogona," and spoke of nothing else than of rushing forward to fight them, insomuch that they tried to throw themselves into the water, for Captain Laudonnière had promised Satouriana to ruin this Timogona, his enemy. The plan of the French being not to make war on these tribes, but rather to reconcile them one with another, the lieutenant of Laudonnière, by name M. d'Ottigni, reassured the Indians who were in the *Almadies*, and drawing near, asked them if they had gold or silver; to which they replied that they had not, but that if he would send one of his men with them, they would take him to a place where it could be obtained. This was done, and meanwhile Ottigni turned back. A fortnight later, a man by the name of Captain Vasseur, accompanied by a soldier, was sent in search of news of

the man led away by the Indians. After ascending the river for two days, they perceived two Indians near the shore, who were on the watch to surprise any of their enemies. These Indians, suspecting their intent, told our French that their companion was not with their tribe, but in the lodge of the chief Molona, the vassal of another great chief named Olata Ouae Outina, whose address they gave. This chief Molona treated our French honourably after his fashion, and gave them an account of his neighbours, allies, and friends, of whom he named nine, Cadecha, Chilili, Eclavou, Evacappe, Calanay, Onataquara, Omittaqua, Acquera, Moquosa, all of whom, and others with them to the number of more than forty, he affirmed to be vassals of the most terrible Olata Ouae Outina. This done, he began in like manner to speak of the enemies of Ouae Outina, among whom he mentioned first of all the chief Satouriana, ruler of the district on the river May, who has thirty chiefs under him, of whom no less than ten are his brothers. Then he named three others not less powerful than Satouriana. The first, Potavou, a cruel warrior, but pitiful in the execution of his fury. For he granted mercy to his prisoners, content to mark them on the left arm with a sign the size of a seal, which he stamped on as with a hot iron, and then dismissed them without further harm. The two others were named Onathaqua and Houstaqua, and were extremely wealthy, especially Onathaqua, who dwelt near the high mountains, which abound in many curious things. Moreover, Molona declared that his allies, the vassals of the great Olata, protected their stomachs, arms, thighs, legs, and forehead with large plates of gold and silver, and that thus arrows could not harm them. When Captain Vasseur told him that some day the French would go into that country, and would join with his lord Olata to defeat all those people, he greatly rejoiced, and replied that the least of the chiefs whom he had named would give to the leader of this reinforcement a pile of

gold and silver two feet high which they had already won from Onathaqua and Houstaquia. I have given these speeches here to show that in general all these tribes have no other aim, thought, or care save war, and that one can give them no greater pleasure than to promise them aid against their enemies.

And the better to sustain their desire for vengeance, they have strange and cruel customs for enforcing the memory thereof upon their children, as may be seen from what follows. On the return of Captain Vasseur, unable, owing to the tide, to reach the haven of Carolina, he took refuge with a chief who lived three leagues from Satouriana, named Molona, like the one of whom we have already spoken. This Molona was wondrous glad at the coming of the French, thinking they had their boat full of the heads of his enemies, and that their only reason for going toward the country of Timogona was to make war on him. When Captain Vasseur heard this, he led him to believe that this was really his sole motive in going thither, and that though Timogona, discovering his intention, had taken to the woods, nevertheless he and his comrades had caught several in the chase who had not brought home the news. The chief, quite overcome with delight, urged Le Vasseur to tell him the whole story in detail. On the instant one of the comrades of the said Vasseur drew his sword, and showed him by signs what he could not explain by words, that with it he had slain two Indians who were fleeing through the woods, and that his comrades also had done no less; that if their enterprise had not been discovered by Timogona, they would have taken him prisoner himself and sacked his whole country. At this rhodomontade the countenance of the chief could not express the joy which he felt. And thereupon one of the Indians took a javelin which was stuck into a mat, and striding with great strides like a madman, struck an Indian who was sitting apart by

himself, crying with a loud voice "Hyou," without the poor man moving in any way at the blow which he patiently exposed himself to endure. Hardly had he returned the javelin to its place, when the same man, seizing it again, gave him another fierce blow, crying out again "Hyou"; and shortly after the poor fellow fell backwards, stiffening his arms and legs, as though ready to breathe his last. And then the youngest of the sons of the chief threw himself at the feet of the fallen, weeping bitterly. In a few moments two of his brothers did the same. Then came the mother with great cries and lamentations to weep with her children. And finally came a troop of young girls, who wept continuously for a great space of time in the same company. And they took up the fallen man and carried him with a sad mien into another lodge, and wept there for two hours; meanwhile the chief and his companions never stopped drinking China-root tea,¹ as they had begun to do, but in absolute silence; whereat Le Vasseur in astonishment, not understanding anything of these ceremonies, asked the chief what these things meant, and was answered in a slow voice, "Timogona, Timogona," and not a word more. Angry at so unsatisfactory a reply, he addressed himself to another, who made the same answer, begging him to question no further on these matters, and to have patience for the time being. Upon this our French went out to look at the man who had been carried away, and found him accompanied by those of whom we have spoken, and the young girls heating quantities of moss instead of linen, with which they rubbed his side. Thereupon the chief was again asked as above. He replied that it was only a ceremony whereby they recalled to memory the death and persecution of the chiefs their ancestors at

¹ China-root "is closely allied to sarsaparilla, and was formerly much esteemed for the purposes for which the latter drug is now used" (*Century Dictionary*).

the hands of their enemy Timogona; stating further that as often as one of them returned from that country without bringing back the heads of their enemies, or without leading home a prisoner, in perpetual memory of his forefathers, he smote the best beloved of all his children, with the same arms wherewith they had been killed, that by the renewal of the wound their death might be again wept over.

CHAPTER X

AFTER this the Paraousti Satouriana sent to Captain Laudonnière to know if he would continue in the promise which he had made to him on his arrival, to be the friend of his friends and the enemy of his enemies, and to aid him with a good number of hackbutters in carrying out the attack which he was making on Timogona. To this Laudonnière replied that he was unwilling for his friendship to incur the enmity of the other; and that even were he willing, he was unable at that moment, inasmuch as he was engaged in laying in a stock of provisions and articles necessary for the preservation of his fort; that in addition his boats were not ready, but that if the chief would wait two months, he would endeavour to do what he could. This reply gave him very scanty satisfaction, especially as he and ten chiefs who had come to meet him had their provisions already prepared, so that he could not put off the expedition. So he set off; but before embarking he commanded water to be brought to him with speed. This done, he lifted his eyes to heaven, and began to speak in signs of many things, his one apparent feeling being a burning anger. He often turned his gaze to the Sun, demanding of him victory over his enemies. Then with his hand he poured over the heads of the chiefs part of the water which he held in a vessel, and the rest, as though for rage and despite, he cast into a fire expressly prepared for the purpose, and thereupon cried out three times "Hé Timogona"; intending by such ceremonies to signify that he prayed the Sun to grant to himself to shed the blood of his enemies, and to the chiefs to

come home with their scalps, which is the sole and sovereign triumph of their victories. On their arrival in the territory of their enemies, he and his council resolved that five of the chiefs with half of the troops should proceed by the river, and should meet at dawn at the enemy's gate; that he himself with the remainder should make his way through the woods and forests with all possible secrecy; and that on their arrival at daybreak they should rush into the village, and kill all within save the women and little ones. This plan was carried out as arranged, and the dead were scalped. Of prisoners they took twenty-four, whom they carried away in their canoes, singing praises to the Sun, to whom they gave the honour of their victory. Then they placed the scalps on the ends of their javelins, and distributed the prisoners among the chiefs, Satouriana receiving thirteen. Before reaching home he sent to announce this good news to those who had been left in the lodges; these at once fell to weeping, but at nightfall began to dance and to jubilate. On the morrow Satouriana arrived, and ordered all the scalps of his enemies (*i.e.* the skin torn off with the hair) to be set up before his gate and to be crowned with laurel branches. At once weeping and groaning broke out, which at nightfall were changed to dances.

When apprised of the victory, Captain Laudonnière requested the Chief Satouriana to send him two of his prisoners, which he refused to do. Laudonnière accordingly went to him with twenty soldiers, and on his entry showed a frowning countenance and spoke no word to Satouriana. At length, when half an hour had passed, he asked where were the prisoners taken from Timogona, and commanded them to be brought. The chief, vexed and surprised alike, remained long silent. At length he said that, in terror at the coming of the French, they had taken flight into the woods. Laudonnière, pretending not to understand, again demanded the prisoners. Then Satouriana ordered his son

to go in search of them. This he did, and after an hour returned with them. On these poor wretches wishing to throw themselves at his feet, Laudonnière forbade it, and carried them off to the fort. The chief was very ill-content with this bravado, and secretly planned revenge, but, concealing his ill-will, continued to send messages and presents. Laudonnière, being a man of tact, after thanking him for his courtesies, gave him to understand that he desired to reconcile him with Timogona, whereby he would have free passage to attack his ancient enemy Onathaqua, and that then, by joining his forces with those of the high and mighty chief Olata Ouae Outina, they could overcome all their enemies, and pass the confines of the furthest rivers in the South. Of this Satouriana pretended to approve, and requested Captain Laudonnière to see to it, saying that for his part he would confirm all arrangements made in his name with Timogona.

Soon after, half a league from the French fort, there fell a thunderbolt the like whereof was never seen, and therefore it will be fitting to close this chapter by giving an account of it. It was at the end of the month of August, at which time, although the meadows were all green and moist, in a moment this thunderbolt consumed more than five hundred arpents, and by its fiery heat burnt all the birds in the meadows; this lasted for three days, with continual fire and lightning. Much anxiety was caused thereby to our French, and not less to the Indians, who, thinking that these thunders were cannon-shots fired at them by our men, sent orators to Captain Laudonnière to testify to him the desire of Chief Allicamani to maintain their alliance, and to be employed in his service; that therefore he considered passing strange the cannonade directed against his dwelling, which had burnt a wide stretch of verdant meadows, and consumed even what was under water, and actually come so near his house that he had expected it to be in a blaze;

he therefore besought him to cease, as otherwise he would be compelled to abandon his land. Laudonnière, concealing his contempt for the foolish notion of the man, joyously replied that he had ordered these cannonades on account of the rebellion made by Allicamani, when he sent for the prisoners detained from the great Olata Ouae Outina; and that he had no desire to harm him, but had contented himself with firing only half-way, to make manifest his power; assuring him, moreover, that as long as the chief remained willing to render him obedience he would be his faithful defender against all his enemies. The Indians, contented with this reply, returned to their chief, who notwithstanding this assurance absented himself from his house for the space of two months, and departed to a distance of twenty-five leagues.

At the end of three days the thunder ceased, and the blaze utterly died out. But on the two following days the air suddenly became so excessively warm that the river almost boiled over, and so great a quantity of every kind of fish died of it that at the mouth of the river there were enough to load more than fifty wagons; from which there arose so great a stench that many severe contagious diseases broke out among the French, of which, however, by the favour of God, no one died.

CHAPTER XI

THE object for which Captain Laudonnière had demanded the prisoners of Satouriana was to send them back to Ouae Outina, and thereby be able more easily through his friendship to penetrate inland. Therefore on September 10 Monsieur d'Arlac, Captain Vasseur, the Sergeant and ten soldiers set off and sailed a distance of eighty leagues, being well received everywhere. At length they handed back the prisoners to Outina, who, after making good cheer, besought Monsieur d'Arlac to assist him in making war on one of his enemies named Potavou. This was agreed to, and Vasseur sent back with five soldiers. Now, as the Indian fashion is to make war by surprises, Outina planned to attack his enemy at dawn, and made his men, to the number of two hundred, march the whole night. These were not so simple as to forget to ask the French hackbutters to lead the van, in order, as they said, that the noise of their arquebuses might frighten the enemy. However, they could not go so secretly that no warning was brought to Potavou, although he was twenty-five leagues distant from the dwelling of Outina. His men set themselves in array with goodwill, and came forth in great number; but seeing themselves greeted with shots from the arquebuses, which were new to them, and their chief at the very outset stricken to earth by a musket ball fired by Monsieur d'Arlac, which struck him on the forehead, they gave way, and the Indians of Outina took men, women, and children prisoner by the aid of the French, though with the loss of one man. This done, Monsieur d'Arlac made his way back, after receiving

from Outina some silver and gold, some painted skins and other raiment, with a thousand thanks; he promised, moreover, to furnish the French with three hundred men whenever they had need of him.

While Laudonnière was thus striving to win friends, conspiracies broke out against him. A man from Perigord named La Roquette seduced some soldiers, saying that by his magic he had discovered up the river a mine of gold or silver, whereby they should all make their fortune. With La Roquette was another named Le Genre, who, the better to foment the rebellion, said that their Captain kept them at work to defraud them of this gain, and therefore that they should choose another Captain and get rid of this one. Le Genre himself was their spokesman about their complaint. Laudonnière replied that they could not all go to the mining lands, and that before starting they must make their fortress sure against the Indians. Moreover, that he considered their method of procedure very strange, and that if they thought the King had gone to the expense of the expedition with no other end than to make their fortunes immediately on their arrival, they were very much mistaken. After this reply they began to wear their arms while at work, with the secret intent of using them to kill their Captain or his lieutenant if either made use of any angry words to them.

Le Genre, whom Laudonnière held for his most faithful follower, seeing that he could not succeed in his evil purpose by violence, wished to try another method, and besought the Apothecary to put poison in a certain medicine which Laudonnière was to take, or to give him arsenic or sublimate, which he himself would put in his drink. But the Apothecary sent him away with a refusal, as did also the Master-Craftsman. Foiled in his evil designs, he resolved with some others to conceal beneath the bed of Laudonnière a small cask of gunpowder, and to explode it by a train. Amid these attempts, a gentleman whom Laudonnière had already commissioned

to return to France, on taking leave of him, warned him that Le Genre had entrusted him with a libel crammed with all manner of insults against Laudonnière, his lieutenant, and all the chief men of the party. On hearing this Laudonnière called together the soldiers, and also the gentleman, whose name was Captain Bourdet, with all his men (who on September 4 had arrived in the roadstead of the river), and ordered the contents of this slanderous libel to be read aloud in their presence, in order to make known to all the wickedness of Le Genre. The latter fled to the woods, and asked pardon of M. Laudonnière, confessing in his letters that he had deserved death, and submitting himself to his mercy. Meanwhile Captain Bourdet set sail for France on November 2, having agreed to bring home with him seven or eight of these mutineers, not including Le Genre, whom he refused, though offered by him a large sum of money to do so.

CHAPTER XII

THREE days after the departure of Captain Bourdet, Captain Laudonnière, after having escaped from one conspiracy, discovered another, or rather two or three; the first hatched by some sailors left with him by Captain Bourdet, who led astray Laudonnière's men by a proposition to go to the Antilles and there do a little plundering from the Spaniards, where they could easily make themselves rich. Thus when the Captain sent them as usual a league and a half from Fort Charles in search of stone and earth for making bricks, they went off for good and all, and captured a passing Spanish vessel near the island of Cuba, in which they found a certain amount of gold and silver, which they seized; and with this booty kept the sea for some time, until their provisions began to run short, whereupon, overcome with hunger, they put in to Havana, the chief town of the island of Cuba, whereby the trouble came about which we shall afterwards relate.

What is worse, two Flemish carpenters whom the same Bourdet had left behind carried off another boat, so that Laudonnière was left without either vessel or boat. You may imagine whether he was easy in his mind. An expedition sent in search of his rogues could get no word of them. Therefore he built with all diligence two large longboats and a small skiff, and this task was already well advanced, when avarice and ambition, the mothers of all ills, took root in the hearts of four or five soldiers, whom this laborious occupation displeased.

These rascals began by working on the best men of the

company, giving them to understand that it was vile and dishonourable to men of good family such as they, thus to be busy over a base mechanic task, when they could become gallant and rich gentlemen of fortune if they would but try the fair adventure in Peru or in the Antilles, with the two vessels which were building, saying also that if the deed were disapproved of in France, they could retire to Italy or elsewhere till the anger passed off; that sooner or later a war was sure to break out which would cause all to be forgotten. The sound of the word riches was so sweet to the ears of these soldiers, that at last, after long deliberation, a band of sixty-six was formed, who used as a pretext to their captain the small quantity of provisions which remained to sustain them until the arrival of the ships from France. To remedy this, they thought it necessary to send to New Spain,¹ Peru, and all the neighbouring islands, for which they requested his permission. The Captain, who suspected their intent, and who knew the Queen's command to do no injury to the subjects of the King of Spain, nor anything whereat he could take offence, replied that when the boats were finished he would look so well to everything that there would be no lack of provisions, and that in any case they still had enough for four months. With this reply they made pretence to be content. But a week later, seeing their captain ill, forgetting all honour and duty, they set to work to blow up the fire again, and declared that they would seize the garrison and the fort, and even lay violent hands on their Captain, if he would not consent to their evil purposes.

Thus the five ringleaders of the mutiny, armed with breastplates, and with cocked pistols in their hands, entered his room saying that they had resolved to go to New Spain to seek their fortune. The Captain bade them look well to what they were about, to which they replied that everything had been considered, that he must grant them this

¹ Mexico.

point, and that nothing was left save for him to give them the arms in his possession, for fear that thus evilly outraged he might make use of them to their hurt. When he refused they took everything by force, and carried them out of the house, and also insulted a gentleman who had grown indignant. Then they seized the Captain and imprisoned him on board a ship which was anchored in the middle of the river, where he remained for a fortnight, served by a single man and visited by no one; and they disarmed all who took his side. Finally they sent him a discharge to sign, and on his refusal, sent him word that unless he did so he would have his throat cut. Thus compelled to sign their discharge, he granted them some sailors, with a pilot named Trenchant. On the completion of the longboats, they armed them with the King's provisions, with powder, ball, and cannon, and compelled Le Vasseur to hand them over the ensign belonging to his vessel; then they went off, intending to sail toward a place in the Antilles named Leaugave,¹ and to land there on Christmas Eve, to massacre and pillage while the midnight Mass was being sung. But as God is not with such people, a quarrel broke out before their departure, so that they separated on leaving the river, and did not see each other again for six weeks, during which one of the longboats captured a brigantine loaded with a moderate cargo of cassava, a kind of bread made out of a white edible root, and a small quantity of wine; in making this capture they lost four men, two killed and two prisoners, but remained masters of the brigantine, and transferred to her the larger portion of their belongings. After this they resolved to proceed to Baracou, a village of the island of Jamaica, on their arrival at which they found a caravel of fifty or sixty tons, which they captured; and after making good cheer in the village for five or six days,

¹ This may refer to les Goaves (Petit Goave and Grand Goave) in Hispaniola, or to the Isle de la Gonave off Port-au-Prince.

they embarked on her, abandoning their second longboat, and sailed towards Cape Tiburon,¹ where they fell in with a government pinnace, which they carried by boarding after a long resistance. In this pinnace they captured the Governor of Jamaica, with great riches both in gold, silver, and goods, wherewith our mutineers not being satisfied, resolved to seek yet more in their caravel, and set sail for Jamaica. The crafty and artful Governor, seeing himself taken to the place where he lived and ruled, by his honied words won permission from his captors to send off in a skiff two small boys captured at the same time as himself, and to send them to his wife in the village with instructions to gather a store of provisions for him. But instead of writing to his wife, he gave the boys secret instructions that she should make all diligence to bring to his rescue the vessels from the neighbouring ports. This she did so skilfully that one morning at daybreak, while the mutineers were lying off the mouth of the harbour, they were surprised by the Spanish vessels, which they had not been able to perceive, owing both to the hazy weather and to the length of the harbour. True it is that the twenty-five or twenty-six who were in the brigantine caught sight of them, but only when they were right upon them; and having no time to weigh anchor, they cut their cable and fled, and made their way to within sight of Havana in the island of Cuba. Now Trenchant the pilot, the trumpeter, and some other sailors who had been carried off on this voyage by force, whose only desire was to return to Laudonnière, their Captain, took counsel and agreed to pass through the Bahama channel,² while the mutineers were asleep, if they saw the wind favourable; which they did so successfully that on the following morning at daybreak, about March 25, they found themselves off the coast of Florida, where, knowing the crime which they

¹ On the SW. of Haïti.

² Now the Florida channel, between Florida and the Bahama Islands.

had committed, they began in mockery to ape the judges—but this was after a carouse; others mimicked the lawyers; another, who summed up, said: “You may plead whatever defence you see fit, but if on your arrival at Fort Carolina the Captain does not have the whole lot of you hanged, I shall never again count him of any worth.” Their sail had no sooner been seen off the coast than a chief named Patuca sent word to Captain Laudonnière. Meanwhile the famished brigantine came to anchor off the mouth of the river May, and by order of the said Captain was brought before Fort Carolina. Thirty soldiers were sent to seize the four ringleaders of the mutiny, who were put in irons; Captain Laudonnière reproved them all, pointing out the service which they owed to the King whose wages they were receiving, and their too great forgetfulness; adding further that having escaped man’s justice, they had been unable to avoid that of God. After this the four in irons were condemned to be hanged and strangled. Perceiving that there was no back door from this sentence, they dutifully began to make their peace with heaven. However, one of the four, thinking to incite the soldiers to mutiny, said to them, “How now, brothers and comrades, will you suffer us thus shamefully to die?” To this Laudonnière, breaking in, replied that they were no comrades to mutineers and rebels to the King’s service. However, the soldiers begged the Captain to have them shot, and then, if he thought good, to hang their bodies; which was done. Such was the issue of their mutiny, which I consider to have been the cause of the ruin of the French interests in Florida, and the reason why the Spaniards were provoked afterwards to come and drive them out, though at the cost of their lives. Here one must bear in mind that in all new conquests, either on sea or land, the undertaking is usually disturbed, since mutinies are easily stirred up, owing both to the boldness

inspired in the soldiers by the absence of all help, and to the hope which they have of private gain, as is well seen in ancient history, and by the buffets experienced in our century by Christopher Columbus, after his first discovery, by Francesco Pizarro, Diego d'Almagro in Peru, and by Hernando Cortés.

CHAPTER XIII

HAVING spoken of these rebellions, we must now retrace our steps and proceed to rescue from prison Captain Laudonnière, with the aid of M. d'Ottigni, his lieutenant, and of his sergeant,¹ who, after the departure of the mutineers, went in search of him and brought him back to the fort, where on his arrival he assembled the remnant, and addressed them on the wrongs done by those who had deserted him, bidding them to have them in remembrance, to bear witness of them one day at the proper time and place. At this all promised faithful obedience, which they never afterwards failed to give, and laboured valiantly, some at the fortifications, some at the longboats, and so on. The Indians often visited him, bringing presents, such as fish, deer, wild turkeys, leopards,² small bears, and other provisions, which were paid for with a few trinkets. One day he was informed that in the lodge of a chief named Onathaqua, who lived some fifty leagues south of Fort Carolina, were two men of another nation. By promise of reward he had them sought out and brought to him. They were Spaniards, naked and with long hair to their knees—in fact, no longer differing in anything from the Savages. Their hair was cut, but they were unwilling to lose it, and wrapped it up in a cloth, saying that they purposed carrying it back to their country, in proof of the ill which they had endured in the Indies. In the hair of one was found concealed a

¹ "The feudal rank of sergeant was widely different from the modern grade so named, and was held by men of noble birth." [Parkman.]

² *i.e.* the puma, or cougar, *felis concolor*.

small quantity of gold to the value of about twenty-five crowns, whereof he made a present to the Captain. Questioned as to their coming to that country, and of the places where they had been, they replied that, fifteen years before, three ships, in one of which they were, had been wrecked off a place named Calos,¹ on the shoals called The Martyrs, and that the chief of Calos carried off the greater part of the rich cargo, but that most of those on board were saved, including several women, among whom were three or four married ladies and their children, who were still living with this chief of Calos, who was powerful and rich, with a pit as deep as a man, and as wide as a barrel, full of gold and silver, which could very easily be captured with a band of hackbutters. They recounted, further, that the men and women when dancing wore at their waists flat pieces of gold the size of a plate, the weight of which impeded them in dancing, and that these came for the most part from the Spanish ships which were frequently wrecked in that channel. Further, that this chief, to retain the reverence of his subjects, made them believe that his spells and charms were the cause of the fruits which the earth brought forth; and that therefore, every year in time of harvest, he sacrificed a man taken from among the Spaniards who had chanced to be wrecked in this channel.

One of these Spaniards also related that he had long served as messenger for this chief of Calos, and in his behalf had visited another chief named Oatchaquá, who dwelt five days' journey from Calos; but that midway in a great lake of fresh water was an island, called Serropé, about five leagues long, and fertile especially in dates growing on palms, in which they do a wondrous traffic, yet not so great as in a certain root suitable for making bread, whereon is nourished the whole country for fifteen leagues around. This brings great riches to the inhabitants of the island,

¹ The name is preserved in that of the River Caloosa. [Parkman.]

who are also very warlike, as they have more than once shown by carrying off the daughter of Oatchaqua and her companions, when he was sending the maiden in marriage to the chief of Calos. This they consider a glorious victory, for they afterwards marry these girls, and love them above all measure.

Moreover, as the Chief Satouriana kept importuning Captain Laudonnière to join with him to finish off his war with Ouae Outina, saying that saving the respect which he bore him he would several times have defeated Outina, and finally dictated terms of peace, the two Spaniards, who knew the Indian character, advised him to put no trust in them, because when they spoke fair was the time when they were plotting some treason, and that they were the greatest dissemblers in the world. Our French also did not trust them save in a very guarded manner.

CHAPTER XIV

WHEN the month of January was come, the Captain was not without anxiety on account of the daily diminution of the provisions; therefore he sent in all directions to the chiefs his friends, who came to his assistance. Among others the widow of the Chief Hioacaia, who dwelt twelve leagues from the French fort, sent him two boat-loads of millet and nuts, with some baskets of Cassiné leaves, whereof they make their drink. This widow was held to be the most beautiful of all the Indian women, and was so greatly honoured by her subjects, that usually they carried her on their shoulders, not permitting her to go on foot. About this time there suddenly occurred so great a manna of wood-pigeons for the space of about seven weeks that our French killed daily more than two hundred in the wood, which came in very much to the purpose. And since it is not good for man to remain idle, the Captain sent his men to visit his friends, and in so doing to explore the interior of the country, and to keep on gaining new friends. Some he sent up the river, who went so far that they were full thirty leagues beyond a spot named Mathiaqua, where they discovered the mouth of a lake, on the other side of which no land could be seen, according to the report of the Indians, who very often had even climbed to the highest trees in the district to see land, but could discover none. And when I consider this, and compare it with the account of M. Champlain during the voyage which he made in the great river of Canada,¹ in the year 1603, of a great

¹ The St. Lawrence.

lake at the head of this river, from whence it issues, which is thirty days' journey in length, and at its head the water is salt, though fresh at the other end, I am almost led to believe that this is the same lake, and that it flows into the South Sea. However, he also says that the savages declare that in the river of the Iroquois,¹ which empties into the said river of Canada, there are two lakes,² each fifty leagues in length, and that from the latter flows a river³ which descends in the direction of Florida, at a distance of one hundred or seven score leagues from the said lake. But this being not yet confirmed,⁴ I incline fully as much to my first conjecture.

Our French brought their exploration to an end at this lake, and being unable to proceed further, returned through the villages of Edelano, Eneguapé, Chilili, Patuca, and Coxa, whence they paid a visit to the great Ouae Outina, who was so hospitable that he retained six of them, well content to have them near him. With the longboat came back a man who had lived there more than six months, and who reported that he had never seen a finer country. Among other things, he had seen a spot named Hostagua, the chief of which was so powerful that he could put in the field three or four thousand Indians, with whom, if the French were willing to come to terms, they could subject the whole country to their rule, and could gain possession of the mountain of Palassi, at the foot of which issues a stream, whence the savages draw water with a dry hollow reed until the reed

¹ The Richelieu.

² Lakes Champlain and George.

³ The Hudson, which Champlain's Indian guides spoke of as issuing from Lake George.

⁴ Champlain's account, save that he over-estimated the size of the lakes, had been by this time fully confirmed. But between the publication of the editions of 1611-12 and 1617-18, a literary quarrel had arisen between Lescarbot and Champlain, owing to some expressions in the latter's volume of voyages, published in 1613, and the language, in 1617, of Lescarbot concerning the explorer is less friendly than in former editions.

is full; then they shake it, and find among the sand numerous grains of copper and of silver.

In this region had dwelt for a very long time a Frenchman named Pierre Gambie,¹ to learn the languages and traffic with the Indians, and as he was returning to Fort Carolina in a canoe (a small boat made all of one piece), paddled by two savages, they killed him to gain a certain sum of gold and silver which he had collected.

Some days later, the Paraousti Outina asked aid of the French to make war on his enemy Potavou, in order to go to the mountains without hindrance. After deliberation thereon, the Captain sent to him thirty hackbutters, although Outina had only asked for nine or ten, for one must be on one's guard against this people. On their arrival, women, children, and hermaphrodites, of whom there are many in that country, were loaded with provisions. Unable to reach Potavou in a single day, they encamped in the woods, and divided into parties of six, lighting fires around the spot where the chief lay, for whose guard are set apart certain archers in whom he has most confidence. On the coming of day they reached the neighbourhood of a lake, where coming upon some fishermen, they did not go further (for they never fish without having a number of sentinels on the watch). Though they tried to surprise them, they finally were able to seize only one, who was shot through and through with arrows; the savages dragged his lifeless body on board, scalped him, and cut off both his arms, keeping the hair to grace their triumph. Outina, finding himself discovered, consulted his Jarva, that is to say, his sorcerer; who, after going through some gestures hideous to behold, and pronouncing certain words, told Outina not to go further, and that Potavou was waiting for him with two thousand men, who were all provided with ropes to tie the prisoners whom he was sure of taking. On hearing this reply,

¹ See Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 79 (ed. 1901).

Outina resolved to go no further. M. d'Ottigni, angered thereat, demanded a guide, and stated that he was resolved to proceed to the attack with his little band. This shamed Outina, who, seeing such steadfast courage, resolved to try his fortune. They did not fail to find the enemy at the spot which the magician had indicated, where their encounter took place, which lasted for three long hours; in which encounter Outina would in truth have been defeated, had not the French hackbutters borne the whole burden of the fight, and killed a great number of the men of Potavou, which caused him to give way. Outina, contented thereat, ordered his men to retreat, to the great discontent of M. d'Ottigni, who greatly desired to follow up the victory. On reaching home, Outina sent messengers to eighteen or twenty of his vassal chiefs, summoning them to present themselves at the feasts and dances which he purposed to give after his victory. This done, M. d'Ottigni returned home, leaving twelve men to protect him.

CHAPTER XV

OUR French in Florida had had promise of supplies and of reinforcements at the end of the month of April. This hope was the cause of their taking very little care to husband their provisions, which the Captain had distributed to them all alike, as much to the least as to himself. And yet they could get no more from the district, because during the months of January, February, and March the Indians leave their lodges, and go off hunting in the woods. The result was that when in the month of May nothing had arrived from France, they found themselves so short of provisions that they were driven to eat roots, and some sorrel which they found in the woods and fields. For even when the Savages did return, though formerly they had bartered their millet, beans, and fruits for merchandise, they now gave no aid save in fish, without which indeed our French had died of starvation. This famine lasted for six weeks, during which time they could do no work, and went every day to the top of a mountain to watch, to see if they could not discover some ship of France. Finally, baffled in this hope, they held a meeting and begged the Captain to give orders for return, saying that they must not let the summer slip by. They had no ship sufficient to contain them all, so that one had to be built. The carpenters, when called on, promised that if they were furnished with the necessary material they would have it fully ready by August 8. Thereupon every one set to work; the one difficulty was to find provisions. This the Captain undertook to do with some of his men and the sailors. To accomplish this he set off

up the river with no provisions, living solely on raspberries, on a certain small round grain, and on palm roots which he found along the banks; but after a vain navigation up the river, he was compelled to return to the Fort, where the soldiers, beginning to weary of their labour, because of the extreme famine which weighed them down, proposed that to save their lives they should seize one of the chiefs. This the Captain at first refused to do, and instead sent to inform the chiefs of their necessity, and to beg them to grant the French provisions in return for merchandise; this they did for the space of several days, during which they brought nuts and fish; but perceiving the necessity of the French, the Indians sold their goods so dear that in a short time they wrung from them all the merchandise which they had left. What is worse, fearing compulsion, they did not approach nearer than a musket-shot to the Fort. Thither the soldiers went in extreme destitution and usually stripped off their shirts to buy a fish. If at times they complained of the high price, these rascals curtly replied, "If you rate your goods so high, eat them, and we will eat our fish," bursting out laughing, and jeering at them. The soldiers, unable to endure such treatment, wished to make them pay dearly for their rashness, but the Captain calmed them as well as he could. Finally he resolved to send to Outina and ask him for assistance in nuts and in millet. This he did very scantily, and only after being paid twice as much as the food was worth. Meanwhile a breathing spell was given them on Outina sending word that he wished to seize and chastise one of his subject chiefs who had provisions; and that if they would aid him with a moderate force, he would guide the French to the chief's village. To this Captain Laudonnière consented, but on their arrival, Outina sent them against other enemies of his. This angered M. d'Ottigni, the leader of the expedition, and had it not been for his respect for his Captain he would have hacked Outina in pieces. When

this trickery was reported at Fort Carolina, the soldiers returned to their first resolve of punishing the audacity and rascality of the Indians and of taking prisoner one of their chiefs. Laudonnière, forced thereto, resolved to lead the expedition himself, and embarking fifty of his best soldiers in two boats, set sail toward the country of Outina, whom they took prisoner, not without great cries and lamentations from his tribe; but they were informed that this was not with intent to harm him, but with his aid to obtain provisions. The next day five or six hundred Indian archers came to announce that their enemy Potavou, on learning the capture of their chief, had entered their village, which was six leagues from the river, and had burnt everything; they therefore besought the French to come to their aid. Meanwhile they saw men in ambush for the purpose of attacking them should they land. Seeing themselves unmasked, the Indians sent a small quantity of provisions. And judging the French by their own cruelty, which is such that they kill all prisoners who fall into their hands, and therefore despairing of seeing Outina again at liberty, they proceeded to elect a new chief. But the father-in-law of Outina raised high above the Throne (to employ our word) one of the small children of this Outina, and succeeded so well that by a majority the honour was restored to him. This came near being the cause of great troubles among them. For the relative of a neighbouring chief was one of the pretendants, and had numerous votes among this tribe. Meanwhile Outina remained a prisoner with one of his sons; and on his subjects hearing of the good treatment accorded him, they came to visit him with some provisions. The enemies of Outina did not remain idle, and came from all parts to look at him, striving to persuade Laudonnière to put him to death, promising that he should not lack provisions; among these Satouriana was prominent, who several times sent presents of food to get possession of him, but finding himself put off, ceased further

attempts. Meanwhile the famine grew more and more severe, for neither millet nor beans were anywhere to be found, whatever remained having been used as seed. And the scarcity was so great that roots were boiled and crushed in a mortar to make bread; a soldier even picked up in the refuse all the fish-bones which he could find, and put them out to dry, the better to break them and to make bread of these also; so that with most of them their bones were sticking through their skins; even the river was destitute of fish; and in this weak state it would have been hard to defend themselves had the savages made an attack.

In this despair news came from the neighbouring Indians, about the beginning of June, that on the land up the river fresh millet had grown. Laudonnière went thither with some of his men, and found that this was correct. But evil came out of good; for the greater part of his soldiers, having eaten more than their stomachs could digest, fell very ill in consequence. And in truth for four days previous they had eaten nothing but some small pinocs (a green fruit which grows among the river grass, and is about the size of a cherry) and a little fish.

Thence he made his way to surprise the chief of Edelano, who had caused one of his men¹ to be put to death in order to seize his gold; but the chief had wind of it, and took to his heels with all his people. The French soldiers burnt the village, which was a feeble revenge, for these people will build a new lodge in an hour. On their arrival at Fort Carolina, the poor starved soldiers and workmen did not wait to strip the millet which was served out to them, but ate it in the husk. And it is strange that in that country watch must be kept over the fields, after the ripening of the corn or millet, not only because of the field-mice, but also because of thieves, as in Europe the grapes are watched at the vintage season. Two French carpenters, ignorant of this, were killed for having gathered a little. The cane or stalk

¹ Pierre Gambie (p. 104).

of this millet is so sweet and sugary, that the small burrowing rodents often nibble at its base, as I myself saw when I sowed some during our voyage with M. de Poutrincourt.

While this was happening two of Outina's people and a hermaphrodite brought news that the millet was already ripe in their district. The result was that Outina promised unlimited millet and beans if they consented to restore him. On deliberation his request was granted, but fruitlessly, for on nearing his village, they sent on ahead, and found no one there; however, his father-in-law and his wife, on being told thereof, came to the French boats with bread, and while encouraging the hopes of the Captain, sought to surprise him. At length, seeing themselves unmasked, they said openly that the grain was not yet ripe, so that they were compelled to bring back Outina, who expected to be killed by the soldiers, on account of the rascality of these Indians.

A fortnight later, Outina again implored the Captain to restore him, assuring him that his subjects would make no difficulty about granting provisions, and that the millet was ripe; and that in case of refusal, they might do with him as they thought fit. Laudonnière in person led him as far as the little river which flowed from his village. Outina was sent with a few soldiers in return for hostages, who were chained, for fear of their escape. After these various parleys, Ottigni with his troop went off to the great lodge of Outina, wherein were assembled the chief men of the district, who, while they procrastinated, gathered their men together, complained that the French kept their matchlocks lighted, and demanded that these be put out, saying that if so, they themselves would lay aside their bows; but their request was not granted. Meanwhile Outina kept out of the way, and did not present himself at the assembly. And when complaint was made to him of so many delays, he replied that he could not prevent his subjects from making war on the French; that on the way he had seen arrows set in the ground with long locks of hair tied to them, a sure sign

of declared and open war; and that for the friendship which he bore the French, he warned them that his subjects had planned to place trees across the little river, to stop their boats and fight them at advantage. Thereupon was heard the voice of a Frenchman, who had lived almost constantly among the Indians, crying out that they were trying to carry him into the woods to cut his throat, from which fate he was rescued and delivered. Taking all these things into consideration, the Captain resolved to withdraw on July 27. Therefore he drew up his soldiers in order, and gave to each a sack of millet; then he set off on his way towards the boats, thinking to anticipate the attempt of the savages. But at the end of an avenue of trees he encountered two or three hundred Indians, who greeted them very furiously with a tempest of arrows. This attack was so valiantly sustained by the Ensign of Laudonnière, that those who fell dead chilled somewhat the wrath of the survivors. This done, our men pursued their march in good order to get forward on their journey. But at the end of four hundred paces they were again attacked by a fresh band of savages to the number of three hundred, who assailed them in front, while the remainder of the first body harassed their rear. This second assault was sustained with all possible bravery by M. d'Ottigni. And great need there was that it should be so, in a fight of such small numbers against such a multitude of savages whose only pursuit is war.

Their manner of fighting was that when two hundred had shot off their arrows they withdrew and gave place to those behind, and yet they were so quick of foot and of eye that the moment they saw the arquebuse levelled they at once threw themselves to earth, and straightway leaped up again to reply with an arrow, and to spring aside if they chanced to perceive that we wished to come to close quarters; for there is nothing which they fear more, on account of our daggers and swords. This fight endured from nine

in the morning until night separated them. And had not Ottigni bethought himself of ordering the arrows to be broken which were found along the path, without doubt they would have been in great straits; for in this way the Barbarians ran short of arrows, and were compelled to retreat. On calling the roll, two men who had been killed were found missing, and twenty-two were wounded, who could with difficulty be got to the boats. All the millet which could be collected amounted only to a load for two men, which was distributed equally. For when the fight began, each man was forced to drop his sack to defend himself.

Thus are we compelled to break the closest friendships in order to protect our lives. Plague, said an ancient writer, is merciful; the carnage of a lost battle is merciful; in short, every sort of death is easy; but cruel hunger exhausts life and seizes on the entrails; it is a torment to the spirit, an emaciation of the body, masterfully compels transgression, is the hardest of all necessities, the most hideous of all evils, the most intolerable pain there can be even in hell. It was but poor forethought of the French to carry so scanty a supply of provisions that there was enough but for one year. For since they wished to colonise the province, and thought it good and of good yield, they should at once have provided themselves with provisions for two or three years, since the King had taken up the matter; and after winning the friendship of the natives they should have given themselves up with spirit to the tillage of the soil. Accidents at sea are of such daily occurrence that it is difficult to carry out one's promises at a fixed date, even when one has the best will to do so. Our voyages, thanks be to God, were not reduced to such misery, nor even approached it. And even if such a misfortune had come upon us in our Port Royal, its shores are always covered with shellfish, such as mussels, cockles, and oysters, which do not fail in the longest and most rigorous winter.

CHAPTER XVI

AFTER Laudonnière had given thanks to God for the deliverance of his men, and ordered them to do likewise, seeing himself foiled on this hand, he made haste to seek provisions elsewhere, and succeeded in finding a quantity on the other side of the river, in the villages of Saranai and Emoloa. He also sent to the river Somme, called by the Savages Ircana, whither Captain Vasseur and his Sergeant went with two longboats, and found there a great assembly of the chiefs of the district, among whom were Athore, the son of Satouriana, Apalou, and Tacadocorou, assembled there to enjoy themselves, on account of the beauty of the women and maidens. Our French made them presents; in exchange for which their boats were immediately loaded with millet. Finding themselves liberally supplied with provisions, they hastened the completion of the vessels in order to return to France, and began to destroy what they had built with much toil. Yet there was no one who was not filled with extreme regret at abandoning a country truly rich and of good hope, wherein they had suffered so much in making explorations which had to be abandoned owing entirely to the fault of our countrymen. For if in time and place the promises made to them had been kept, the war against Outina would not have arisen, with whom, as well as with the others, they had with much difficulty kept on friendly terms; even yet, notwithstanding what had passed, they had not broken their alliance.

While each pondered in his spirit over these things, on a sudden four sails appeared out at sea on the third day of August, whereat they were seized with excessive joy,

mingled with fear. When these ships had cast anchor, they perceived that a boat was being sent ashore, on seeing which Laudonnière had one of his own manned in haste to send to meet it, and to find out who they were. Meanwhile, for fear that they were Spaniards, he had his soldiers drawn up and standing at attention. On its return, the boat reported that they were English, and brought with them a man of Dieppe, who, in the name of the English commander, asked permission of Laudonnière to get water, whereof they had great need, stating that for more than a fortnight they had been coasting along that shore without being able to find any. This Dieppois brought two flagons of wine with wheaten bread, which were shared among the majority of the company. My reader may think whether they were glad of it or no, for the Captain himself had not tasted wine for over seven months. The request of the English commander granted, he came to visit Laudonnière in a large boat with his men, who were honourably apparelled, but unarmed, and ordered a great quantity of bread and wine to be brought to distribute among them all. The Captain did not forget to make him the best cheer which he could; and to this end ordered some sheep and hens to be killed, which up to that time he had carefully preserved in the hope of stocking the country. For in spite of all the varied sicknesses and necessities which had come upon him, he had never consented to the death of a single chicken. The result was that in very little time he had collected more than a hundred head.

Now during the visit of the English commander, which lasted three days, the Indians came in from all sides to look at him, asking Laudonnière if this were not his brother; which he admitted, adding that he had come to reinforce him with so great a quantity of provisions that thenceforward he could easily dispense with taking anything from them. Straightway the rumour spread through all the district, so

that ambassadors came from all sides to make alliances with him in the name of their masters, and even those who had previously desired to make war on him declared themselves his friends and servants, on which terms they were received. The commander quickly perceived the desire and necessity of the French to return to France, and at once offered to convey them all. This Laudonnière refused, doubting for what reason he made so liberal an offer, and not knowing in what state were the relations between France and England; fearing also his intention to make an attempt upon Florida in the name of his mistress, the Queen of England. Therefore he refused outright, whereat a great outcry arose among the soldiers, who said that their Captain desired to bring about the death of them all, and coming to the Captain's room, they gave him to understand their intention not to refuse this opportunity. Laudonnière asked for an hour's delay before replying, and gathered the chief men of his company, who, on understanding the matter, unanimously replied that he should not refuse the chance which presented itself, and that his abandonment made it lawful to take advantage of the means which God had sent.

They therefore bought one of the English commander's ships at a fair price, for the sum of seven hundred crowns, and gave him in surety part of their cannon and powder. This bargain struck, he considered the necessity of the French, who had nothing to live on save millet and water, and moved by pity thereat, he offered to aid them with twenty barrels of flour, six casks of beans, a puncheon of salt, and a quintal of wax for making candles. And inasmuch as he saw that the poor soldiers were barefoot, he offered further fifty pair of shoes. These were accepted, and a price agreed upon with him. And further and especially he presented the Captain with a jar of oil, a jar of vinegar, a barrel of olives, a liberal supply of rice, and a barrel of white biscuit, and made several other presents

to the chief officers of the company according to their rank. In short, no greater courtesy could possibly be shown than that of this Englishman, Master John Hawkins¹ by name, whose name were I to forget, I should consider myself to be guilty of ingratitude towards him.

Immediately on his departure, they hastened to provide themselves with biscuit, using the flour which the English had left, and coopered the necessary casks for the supplies of fresh water. This was the sooner executed in that the desire to return to France gave every one courage. When they were ready to set sail, it was decided to carry off to France some good-looking Indian men and women, in order that, should a return voyage be undertaken, these could relate to their chiefs the greatness of our Kings, the excellence of our Princes, the goodness of our country, and the French mode of life. For this the Captain had made ample provision, had not the whole undertaking been ruined, as shall be told in the chapters immediately following.

¹ Afterwards Sir John Hawkins. He was on his way back from Hispaniola, where he had successfully disposed of a cargo of slaves.

CHAPTER XVII

THEY were waiting only for wind and tide, which proved favourable on the twenty-eighth day of the month of August, when on the point of setting forth Captains Vasseur and Verdier suddenly saw sail after sail to seaward, whereof they informed Laudonnière, their commander. Thereupon he ordered a boat to be well manned to go and observe them, and find out who they were ; meanwhile he drew up his men, arrayed and accoutred as though they had been enemies ; which, as time went on, he began to suspect, for his men had reached the vessel at two o'clock in the afternoon, and sent no report during the whole day. On the morrow morning some seven boats entered the river (among them the one which Laudonnière had sent), filled with soldiers, all armed with arquebuses and with helmets on their heads, and proceeded in battle array along the rising ground where were posted some French sentinels. To these they refused to give any reply, notwithstanding all the questions put to them ; insomuch that one of the said sentinels was forced to fire on them, without, however, doing any damage owing to the distance. Laudonnière, thinking they were enemies, ordered two field-pieces which he had left to be loaded ; so that had they not on approaching the Fort cried out that it was Captain Ribaut, he was on the point of firing a volley into them. The reason why the said Captain came in this manner was that reports had been circulated in France that Laudonnière was lording it and playing the monarch, and that with great difficulty would he allow any one else to enter Fort Carolina to take command. This was a slander. Having made certain that it was

Captain Ribaut, he came out of the Fort to meet him, and pay him every honour which he possibly could, gracefully ordering his hackbutters to greet him with a salute, to which a like reply was made. The rejoicing was such as every one may easily imagine for himself. On account of the above-mentioned false reports, Captain Ribaut wished to keep Laudonnière there with him, saying that he would write to France, and dissolve all these rumours. Laudonnière replied that it would not be honourable for him to do such a thing, to be the inferior in a place where he had been commander-in-chief, and where he had suffered so many ills, and that Ribaut himself, putting his hand on his heart, would not advise him to do so. Several other conversations were held, as well with the said Ribaut as with others of his company, and reply was made by Laudonnière to the calumnies which had been spread about the Court concerning him, especially to the disapproval which the High Admiral had been led to express of his having brought a woman with him to look after the housekeeping and the sick, though several on the spot had asked her in marriage; and in truth since her return to France she has been married to one of those who were courting her in Florida. He further argued that in such enterprises it is necessary to assert oneself and to enforce obedience in accordance with one's commission, for fear that every man may resolve to be master, feeling himself removed from superior constraint; and that if the tale-bearers had called such conduct severity, it arose rather from the disobedience of the discontented than from his character, which was less inclined to be harsh than they to be rebellious, as the results proved.

The day after their arrival, up came the Indians from all parts to find out who these people were. Some few recognised Captain Ribaut by his long beard, and made him presents, saying that in a few days they would guide him to the mountains of the Valaci, where red copper was found,

which in their language they call Pieroapira; Captain Ribaut had it roughly assayed by his goldsmith, who reported to him that it was very gold.

During these discussions, after Captain Ribaut had landed his provisions, suddenly on September 4 six large Spanish ships arrived in the roadstead, where the four largest French vessels had remained, which cast anchor after assuring our French that they were friendly. They asked after the health of the chiefs of the enterprise, and named them all by name and surname. But the next day at dawn they began to fire upon our people, who, perceiving their crews to be too small to make head against them, since the greater part of their men were on shore, slipped their cables and set sail. The Spaniards, seeing they were discovered, fired several further volleys, and pursued them the whole day; but seeing that the French ships were better sailers than their own, and also not wishing to lose sight of the coast, they withdrew into Dolphin River, which the Indians call Seloy, eight or ten leagues distant from Fort Carolina. Upon this our men realising their superiority in sailing, followed them to see what they would do; and then returned to the river May, whither Captain Ribaut went in a boat, and was informed of what had taken place, and especially that three Spanish ships had entered Dolphin River, and that the three others had remained in the roadstead; also that they had landed their infantry, provisions, and munitions. On hearing this news, he returned to the Fort, and in presence of the Captains and other gentlemen, set before them the necessity in the King's service to embark with all their forces, and go against the three Spanish ships which were in the roadstead; on this he asked their opinion. Captain Laudonnière, from his sick-bed, pointed out the sudden and dangerous squalls which occur on this coast, and that if by any chance he was forced to quit it, it would be difficult to find his way back; and that meantime those

who remained in the Fort would be in difficulties and danger. The other Captains expostulated still more decidedly, and gave their opinions strongly against the attempt, saying that it would be much better to remain on land, and fortify themselves with all speed. Notwithstanding this, he resolved to make the attempt, and persisted in his embarkation, taking all the soldiers whom he had under his command, and the best of Laudonnière's company, with his lieutenant, his ensign, and his sergeant. Laudonnière told him to look well to what he was about, since he was the leader on land, for fear some evil might befall. To which he replied that he could do nothing less than continue this undertaking, and that in the letter which he had received from the High Admiral there was a postscript, which he showed, written in these terms: "Captain John Ribaut, in closing this letter I have received sure word that Don Pedro Melandes¹ is setting out from Spain for the coast of New France. You will take all care not to suffer him to attack us, any more than he would wish us to attack them." "You see," said he, "the charge which I have, and I leave you yourself to judge if you would do less, seeing the sure warning which we have that they have already landed, and wish to fall upon us." To this Laudonnière had no answer to give.

¹ Menendez. Consult works cited on p. 125, and also J. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1899), in which Menendez is called "the greatest oceanic captain of his time," and "perhaps the greatest maritime genius his country ever produced."

CHAPTER XVIII

CAPTAIN RIBAUT, obstinate in his first idea, embarked on September 8, taking with him thirty-eight of Captain Laudonnière's men, together with his ensign. Thus no officer remained with him, for all followed Ribaut as commander, in whose name since his arrival all notices and proclamations were made. On September 10 there suddenly arose at sea so great a tempest as never was seen the like before. At this Laudonnière pointed out to the little band which remained with him the danger they were in of suffering many ills if it chanced that any mishap had befallen Captain Ribaut and his men, since they had the Spaniards building a fort so near at hand. Therefore that they must take thought to fortify themselves, and repair the part which had been thrown down. The provisions were scanty, for Captain Ribaut himself had carried off the biscuits which Laudonnière had made of the English flour; nor had he experienced any courtesy from the said Ribaut, who had distributed his rations to him as to a private soldier. Notwithstanding all their diligence, they were unable to complete their enclosure. In this necessity they mustered the men fit for defence, who proved to be a very scanty band; for there were more than eighty camp-followers, women, and children, and a large number of Laudonnière's own men were still crippled from the day which they had had against Outina. This muster finished, the Captain appointed guards, forming two squads, one to relieve the other.

On the night of September 19-20, a certain La Vigne was on guard with his squad, and did his duty faithfully,

though the rain was pouring down. When day dawned, and he saw the rain coming down faster than ever, he had pity on his drenched sentinels, and thinking that the Spaniards would surely not come in such strange weather, he called them in, and himself actually went off to his quarters. Meanwhile one who was occupied outside the fort, and the trumpeter who had gone up on the rampart, caught sight of a company of Spaniards coming down a hill, and began to cry "to arms," and the trumpeter sounded his trumpet. Hearing this, the Captain came out, shield on arm and sword in hand, and ran to the centre of the square calling on his soldiers. Some of those whose courage did not fail ran toward the breach where were the munitions of war, but were overpowered and killed. Through this same breach two ensigns entered, and at once set up their standards. Two other ensigns also came in on the west side, where there was another breach, at which those who presented themselves were killed or dispersed. The Captain, rushing to save a third breach, found in face of him a full company of Spaniards who had already entered, and who drove him back to the square, where he perceived a certain Francis John, one of the sailors who had made off with the long-boats, as mentioned above, who had been leader and guide of the Spaniards. On catching sight of Laudonnière, he began to cry out "The Captain, the Captain," whereupon he was assailed with blows from their pikes. But seeing the square already captured, and the ensigns planted upon the ramparts, and having but one man at his side, he entered the courtyard of his quarters, into which he was pursued; and had it not been for a tent which was set there he would have been taken; but the Spaniards following him wasted their time in hacking at the tent-ropes, while in the meantime he escaped by the western breach, and got off into the woods, where he found a number of his men who had escaped, three or four of whom were badly wounded.

Thereupon he said to them: "My children, since God has seen fit to send this fortune upon us, we must hasten across the swamps to the ships which are at the mouth of the river." Some resolved to go to a little village in the woods, others followed him in the water through the reeds, where, being unable from sickness to go further, he sent to the vessels two men who were expert swimmers, to inform them of what had happened, and to ask them to come to his aid. These men were unable that day to reach the vessels, so that he was compelled to remain the whole night up to his neck in water, with one of his men who resolutely refused to abandon him. On the morrow, thinking to die there, he dutifully set himself to pray to God. But those on shipboard, having learned where he was, came and found him in piteous state, and carried him away in their boat. They also went along the river to pick up the fugitives. The Captain, after receiving a change of raiment, refused to enter the ships until he had first gone with the boat along the reeds to hunt for the poor wretches who were scattered among them, where they picked up eighteen or twenty. On his arrival on board, he was told that Captain Jacques Ribaut, the nephew of the other Ribaut (who was on his ship at twice the distance of a musket-shot from the Fort), had parleyed with the Spaniards, and that Francis John had gone aboard his ship, where he had remained for some time; whereat all were greatly amazed, seeing that it was he who was the author of this business.

On reassembling, they discussed their return to France, and methods of arriving at a truce. This done, on September 25 Laudonnière and Jacques Ribaut set sail, and about October 28 sighted the island of Flores in the Azores, after a fairly successful voyage, though with such insufficiency of provisions that they were reduced to biscuit and water. On November 11 they found themselves in 75 fathoms of water, and Captain Laudonnière,

finding that he was being carried toward the Welsh coast of England, landed there and sent his ship back to France till he himself should be a little restored to health; shortly afterwards he went and presented himself to the King to give an account of his office.

Such is the issue of affairs which are not well conducted. The long delay before the embarkation of Captain Jean Ribaut, and the fortnight spent in coasting the shores of Florida before reaching Carolina, resulted in the ruin of everything. For had he reached there as soon as possible, instead of playing about from river to river, he would have had time to unload his ships and to put himself in a good state of defence, and the others would have returned quietly to France. Moreover, his resolve to follow his own ideas rather than his duty turned out very unluckily for him. For he had no sooner left the French fort to put to sea in search of the Spanish ships than the tempest overtook him, which finally wrecked him on the coast, where all his vessels were lost, and he himself was barely able to escape from the waves, only to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, who put him to death with his whole company.¹ I say put him to death, but in a manner which would horrify Cannibals and Læstrygonians; for after various tortures they cruelly flayed him (against all the laws of war which ever existed) and sent his skin to Europe; a precedent unworthy of Christians, and of a nation which would fain make men believe that in its conquest of the lands of the West it is inspired by religious zeal, which no man who knows the truth will ever believe. I call to witness the writings of Dom Barthelemy de las Casas, a Spanish monk, and Bishop of Chiapa, who was present at the horrible massacres,

¹ For an account of the fate of Ribaut, and a list of authorities, see Parkman, *op. cit.*; P. Gaffarel, *Histoire de la Floride française* (Paris, 1875); Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States and Florida* (New York, 1905).

butcheries, cruelties, and inhumanities wrought upon the poor people whom they have conquered in those parts, who relates, among other things, that in forty-five years they put to death and destroyed twenty millions of people, and concludes that the Spaniards do not go to the Indies led thither by the honour of God and by zeal for His faith, nor to succour their neighbours and aid in their salvation, nor yet to serve their King, under which false colours they boastfully sail; but that avarice and ambition push them on, in order to rule for ever over the Indians as tyrants and devils. These are the words of the author, who states that during his stay they took no more care to teach Christian doctrine to these poor peoples and to lead them to salvation, than if they had been wood, stones, dogs, or cats, adding that a certain Jean Colmenero, an unsteady, ignorant, and brutish fellow, who had a large town as an *encomienda* and who had a cure of souls, on being examined once by him, could not even make the sign of the Cross; and on being asked what he taught the Indians, replied that they might all go to the devil, and that it was quite enough for him to say to them, *Per signin sanctin cruces*.¹ This author has left us a collection or abridgment entitled *The Destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards*;² being moved to do so on seeing that all who wrote the history thereof, either to please or through fear, or being pensioners, pass over in silence their vices, cruelties, and tyrannies, that they may be esteemed honest men. Here I shall only give his account of their doings in the island of Cuba, which is the nearest to Florida.

In the year 1511, he says, they passed over into the

¹ i.e. *per signum sanctæ crucis* ("by the sign of the holy cross"). These exact words do not occur in any Roman Catholic formula now in use. *Et hoc signum sanctæ crucis* occurs in the baptismal exorcism, and the *per* may have easily slipped in from one of the other formulas, such as *per Christum Dominum nostrum*. A search through the numerous mediæval exorcisms might find the exact words.

² *Brevissima relacion de la destruccion de las Indias* (Seville, 1552; 4°).

island of Cuba, where a very remarkable thing befell. A Cacique—the same title as Paraousti in Florida—Captain or Prince, a great lord named Hathuey, who had crossed over from the island of Hispaniola to that of Cuba with many of his tribe, to flee from the cruelties and inhumanities of the Spaniards; when informed by certain Indians that the Spaniards were coming to Cuba, assembled his tribe and thus addressed them: “You know the rumour which is current that the Spaniards are coming hither, and you also know by experience how they have treated such and such, and the tribes of Hayti (which is the island of Hispaniola, near to Cuba). They are coming to do the same here. Do you know why they are so doing?” The others replied that they did not, unless, said they, it is their nature to be cruel and inhuman. He replied: “That is not the sole reason; it is also because they have a God whom they adore, and whose demands are great;¹ and in order to have some of us also to worship him, they take great trouble to conquer us and slay us.” He had near him a small coffer full of gold and jewels, and said, “Lo, the God of the Spaniards! Let us perform unto him, if you think good, *Areytos* (these are balls and dances), and by so doing we shall content him, and he will command the Spaniards to do us no hurt.” They all replied in a clear voice: “It is well said; it is well said.” And so they danced before him until they were weary, and then the chief Hathuey said: “Consider whether, in any event, we shall keep him only to be deprived of him, for at the last they will kill us. Therefore let us throw him into the river.” To this all agreed, and so they threw this God into a great river which was close at hand.

This chief and Cacique kept constantly out of the way of the Spaniards as soon as they arrived in the island of Cuba,

¹ The editions of 1609 and 1612 read *demandent*, which would mean either “and for whom they demand many worshippers,” or possibly “and of whom they demand great quantities.”

as one who knew them too well, and defended himself when he met them. In the end he was taken and burnt alive. And as he was tied to the stake, a holy man, a monk of St. Francis, began to speak to him of our God and of our Faith, of which he had never heard, nor could he be instructed in so short a time. The monk added that if he would but believe what was told him he would go to heaven, where there is glory and eternal rest; and that if he did not believe he would go to hell, there to suffer eternal torment. The Cacique, after reflecting for a moment, asked whether the Spaniards went to heaven. The monk replied that those did who were good. The chief at once, without further reflection, replied that he did not wish to go to heaven, but to hell, in order to find himself no longer in company with such people. Such are the commendations that God and our Faith have received from the Spaniards who have gone to the Indies.

On one occasion, continues the author, the Indians came out ten leagues to meet us with provisions and delicate meats, and with every other dainty, and on our arrival gave us a great quantity of fish, bread, and other viands. But straightway on a sudden the devil seized upon the Spaniards, and in my presence they put to the sword, without any reason, more than three thousand persons who were seated before us, men, women, and children. I saw there such great cruelties as never living men have seen or shall see the like.

On another occasion, a few days later, I sent messengers to all the chiefs of the province of Havana, urging them to have no fear (for they had heard of my influence), and not to steal away, but to come to visit us, and that no evil should be done them; for the whole country was affrighted at the wrongs and butcheries committed; this I did by the counsel of the Captain himself. When we had reached the province, twenty-one chiefs came to revisit us, whom

the Captain at once seized, breaking the pledge which I had given them. The next day he wished to burn them alive, saying that it was expedient so to do; that otherwise they would some day do us an ill turn. I had very great difficulty in saving them from the fire; however, in the end they got off.

After the Indians of this island had been placed in the same servitude and evil plight as those of the island of Hispaniola, and when they saw themselves one and all dying and perishing without remedy, some began to flee to the mountains, others in despair hanged themselves, men and women hanging from time to time their children. By the cruelty of a single Spaniard whom I know, more than two hundred Indians hanged themselves, and in this manner an infinite number of people have perished.

There was in this island a King's officer to whom was given for his portion three hundred Indians, of whom at the end of three months there had died on his hands in work at the mines two hundred and sixty. Afterwards he was given as many again, and more, and these also he killed; and as many as he was given, so many he killed, until he died, and the devil went off with him.

In three or four months during my stay, there died more than six thousand children, through being deprived of their fathers and mothers, who had been sent to the mines. I saw also other dreadful deeds in the depopulation of this island, which it is great pity to see in its present desolation.

This is as much as I wish to relate of the cruelties of the Spaniards in the island of Cuba. For if a man should desire to write what they have done throughout three thousand leagues of land, he could compose a thick volume, all of the same tissue as the above. As an example I shall add what the same author relates of the cruelties wrought in the islands of St. John¹ and Jamaica. "The Spaniards,"

¹ Porto Rico.

he says, "crossed over to the island of St. John, and to that of Jamaica, which were as gardens and beehives, in the year 1509, having set before themselves the same end and object as in the island of Hispaniola, committing and carrying on the above-mentioned acts of brigandage and sin, and adding thereto many more very great and notable cruelties, killing, burning, roasting, and throwing to the dogs, afterwards oppressing, torturing, and vexing them also with forced labour in the mines and elsewhere, until they consumed and extirpated all these poor innocents, who were in these two islands to the number of 600,000. Indeed, I believe that they exceeded a million; and to-day there are not in each island 200 people, and all are perished without faith and without sacraments."

This good bishop, unable to endure all these cruelties and a hundred thousand others, made remonstrances and complaints thereon to the King of Spain, which were reduced to writing in 1542, and at the end is the protestation which he made, calling to witness God and all the hierarchies of Angels, and all the Saints of the Court of Heaven, and all mankind, even those who shall live hereafter, to the proof which he gives thereof to clear his conscience. A fact certainly the narration of which those perchance who have Spain in their hearts will not believe;¹ but what I have said is but a small parcel of the contents of the book of this author, whom the Spaniards themselves do not disdain to cite with what has been told above in the books which they have entitled *History of the great Kingdom of China*.² And the better to convince such captious folk, I

¹ This is of course a reminiscence of the famous saying of Henry IV. to the Parliament of Toulouse, that they "still had Spain in their bellies" (*vous avez encore de l'Espagnol dans le ventre*).

² Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China*, &c. (Rome, 1585). This work was soon translated into most of the European languages, into Italian in 1586, into French and English in 1588. Both the original and the translations were frequently reprinted, and had a great vogue. The rare English translation of

refer them to yet another writer, who has described the natural and moral history of the Indies, both East and West, Joseph Acosta,¹ who, although through patriotism he hushes up these horrible cruelties, yet while softening the reality, has not been able to refrain from saying: "But we of the present generation paying no attention to this (he refers to the good order and respect for law of the Mexicans), make our way therein by the sword, without listening or paying any attention to them." And elsewhere, giving the reason why the islands called the Windward Islands—to wit, Hispaniola, Cuba, Porto Rico, and others in that neighbourhood—are to-day so scantily inhabited, he says: "It is because very few of the native Indians are left, through the lack of consideration and the disorder of the first conquerors and colonisers." By these words one may see that their accounts agree, but the one speaks through zeal, the other as a man who does not wish to offend his country.

Since they have behaved in this way towards the Indians, and are already accustomed to slaughter, one must not wonder at their behaviour towards Captain Ribaut and his men; and if they had captured Laudonnière, he would not have got off any cheaper. For the French, his fellow colonists, who fell into their hands were one and all hanged, with this inscription: "I do this not unto Frenchmen but unto Lutherans."² I am no defender of Lutherans,³ but I must say that it was not for Spaniards to inquire into the religion of the King's subjects, especially since they were not on the territory of these Spaniards, but on land belonging to the King by his proper conquest. And since these French

1588 by R. Parke, made at the request of Hakluyt, was republished in 1853 by the Hakluyt Society, with an introduction by R. H. Major.

¹ See p. 46, note 1.

² The truth of this story is doubtful. See Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, ii. 272, and Lowery, *op. cit.*, 178.

³ The French Huguenots were not Lutherans but Calvinists, but the word was commonly used to include all Protestants.

had refrained from disturbing them, for the rebellion of which we have spoken above does not come into consideration here, they should in the same way have allowed them to remain within their boundaries, and not have hindered the advancement of the name of Christ. For though there were among them some of the so-called Reform sect, there were Catholics too, who would have gradually increased in numbers in a land where now these poor natives are still in their first ignorance.

Some foolish and over-scrupulous folk will say that it is better to leave them in their present condition than to give them an evil dye. But I shall reply that the Apostle Saint Paul rejoiced that, though by envy and contention and not sincerely, every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ was preached. It is difficult, not to say impossible, for mortals to lead all men into the same opinion, and especially where matters are concerned which can be subject to interpretation. The Emperor Charles V., after the Diet of Augsburg, seeing that he had striven in vain to achieve such a result, conceived disgust of the world and became a monk; in which calling he tried during his leisure to make clocks keep the same time, since he had been unable to make men agree, but there also it was but labour lost, for he never could make them all strike together, though of the same size and made by the same hand. It would have been a great step to have given some knowledge of God to this people, and by His goodness and the aid of His Holy Spirit He would have done the rest. The Admiral Coligni was not immortal; his successor would have made the colonies purely Catholic, and have recalled the others; and as for me, I cannot see that the Spaniards are more excusable in their cruelties than the Lutherans in their religion. Moreover, these new and western lands being of such great extent that all Europe would not suffice to people what remains unexplored, it is most accursed envy,

damnable ambition, and cruel avarice for the Spaniards not to allow any one to land there to found a colony; and foolishness to call themselves the only lords of a country the heritage of which has been granted to them by no one with lawful title. Now this barbarous cruelty wrought upon the French was avenged two years later by the noble courage of Captain Gourgues, as will be seen in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XIX

IN the year 1567,¹ Captain Gourgues, a gentleman of Bordeaux, stirred by a courage truly French, and by the desire to uplift the honour of his nation, borrowed money from his friends and sold a portion of his estate to prepare and equip with all things necessary three medium-sized ships, manned by 150 soldiers and 80 chosen sailors, under Captain Cazenove, his lieutenant, and Francis Bourdelois, mate. He then set out on August 22 in the above-mentioned year, and after having for some time fought against head winds and tempests, at length made land at the island of Cuba. Hence he made his way to Cape St. Anthony, at the end of the island of Cuba, distant from Florida some two hundred leagues, where he set forth to his men his design which he had hitherto concealed from them, begging and urging them not to abandon him when so near the enemy, so well equipped, and with all things so favourable. To this they all swore agreement, and that with such good courage that they would not wait for the full moon to pass the Bahama Straits,² and soon made Florida. The Spaniards from their Fort saluted them with two cannonades, thinking they belonged to their nation, and Gourgues returned them a like salute to keep them in this error, in order to surprise them with the more advantage. Nevertheless he passed on, pretending to go elsewhere, until the place had been lost from sight, and at nightfall landed at fifteen leagues from the Fort, opposite the river Tacadacrou, which the French named the Seine, because of its resemblance to the river of that name in France. Then,

¹ See works cited in note 1, pages 121 and 125.

² See p. 97, note 2.

having found that the shore was thronged with Savages, armed with bows and arrows, he sent his Trumpeter to assure them—in addition to the sign of peace and friendship which he had made them from the ships—that he had come there for no other object than to renew the friendship and alliance of the French with them. This the Trumpeter carried out so well, having lived there under Laudonnière, that he brought back from the Chief Satouriana a roebuck and other meats to refresh them; then the Savages withdrew, dancing in sign of joy, to inform all the chiefs to return thither on the morrow. This they did not fail to do, and among others were present the great Satouriana, Tacadocourou, Halmacanir, Athore, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helycopile, Molona, and others with their usual arms, which both parties laid aside to confer together with more confidence. Satouriana went to meet Captain Gourgues on the beach, and made him sit on his right hand; and when Gourgues wished to speak, Satouriana interrupted him, and began to expose to him the incredible wrongs and continued insults that all the Savages, and their wives and children, had suffered from the Spaniards since their coming, and the strong desire which he had to avenge himself if they would but aid him. To this Gourgues took his oath, and an alliance was sworn between them, after which he gave them some daggers, knives, mirrors, hatchets, and other goods suitable for Indians. They also asked him further for a shirt apiece to wear on great occasions, and to be buried with them at their death. They in return made presents to Captain Gourgues of what they had, and withdrew dancing in great joy, promising to keep everything secret, and to bring to the same spot large bands of their subjects, all armed, to take fit vengeance on the Spaniards. Meanwhile Gourgues questioned Pierre de Bré, a native of Havre de Grace, who as a child had escaped from the Fort through the woods while the Spaniards were

slaying the rest of the French, and since then had been brought up by Satouriana, who handed him over to the said Gourgues, who made full use of the information he imparted, and acting thereon, sent some of his men under the guidance of Olotaraca, the nephew of Satouriana, to reconnoitre the Fort and the state of the enemy.

The bargain struck, and rendezvous given to the Indians beyond the river Salinacani, otherwise the Somme, they all drank with much ceremony their drink called Cassina, made of the juice of certain herbs, which it is their custom to take when they go into places of peril, since it takes away their thirst and hunger for twenty-four hours;¹ Gourgues too felt it necessary to make pretence to drink thereof; then all lifted up their hands, and swore never to abandon him. They had great difficulties on account of the rain and places full of water, which they were compelled to pass with a slowness which increased their hunger. Now they had learned that the Spaniards numbered four hundred men, distributed among three Forts, equipped and flanked, and well situated on the river May. For in addition to Fort Caroline, they had also built two others lower down toward the mouth of the river, on either side of it. Finally, on arriving close enough, Gourgues planned to attack the Fort at daybreak on the following morning; but this proved impossible, owing to the inclement weather and the darkness of the night. The chief Helicopile,² seeing him angry at his ill-success, promised to conduct him by an easier though longer path; and guiding him through the woods, brought him within sight of the fort, where he discovered a quarter defended only by some unfinished ditches, so that after having sounded the little river which flows past, they forded it, and at once made ready for the fight, on the eve of Quasimodo³ Sunday

¹ Cf. Parkman, *op. cit.*, p. 166, note 1 (Boston, 1905).

² This had been spelt above Helycopile. Such small discrepancies are common in these Indian names, *e.g.* Athore or Hathore, &c.

³ The Sunday after Easter, April 25, 1568.

in April 1568. Such was their zeal that Gourgues, to make use of this fiery enthusiasm, gave twenty hackbutters to his lieutenant, Cazenove, with ten sailors armed with bombs and hand-grenades to burn the gate; then he attacked the fort in another quarter, after making a short speech to his men on the unheard-of treachery of the Spaniards toward their comrades. But the gunner stationed on the outer wall of the Fort caught sight of them two hundred yards off as they came headlong on, and with the cry, "To arms! to arms! the French! the French!" fired on them twice with a culverin captured from Laudonnière, and marked with the arms of France. But as he sought to reload for a third shot, Olotocara, mad with rage, sprang out of the ranks, leaped on the platform, and drove his spear through him. Thereat Gourgues advanced, and hearing Cazenove shout that the Spaniards, who at the cry of alarm had rushed out in arms, were flying, bore down in that direction, and so hemmed them in between himself and his lieutenant that of sixty there escaped only fifteen, who were reserved for the same fate which they had inflicted on the French. Meanwhile the Spaniards in the other Fort kept up a continual cannonade, which greatly harassed our men. Gourgues therefore, followed by eighty hackbutters, threw himself into a boat which very opportunely lay close at hand, intending to gain the wood adjoining the Fort, from which he judged that the besieged would come out to escape through the said wood into the large Fort, which was only a league away, on the other side of the river. The Savages, unwilling to wait for the return of the boat, leaped one and all into the water, holding their bows and arrows high in air with one hand, and swimming with the other; insomuch that the Spaniards, seeing both banks swarming with so great a multitude of men, thought to escape to the woods, but attacked by the French, then driven back by the Savages, to whom

they wished to surrender, they were slain before they had time to ask for quarter. In short, all lost their lives save the fifteen who were reserved for exemplary punishment. Captain Gourgues then ordered everything found in the second Fort to be carried over to the first, in which he wished to establish himself to make up his mind about the large Fort, of the strength of which he was ignorant.

CHAPTER XX

IT was no little progress to have had the success which we have related and to have captured the two small Forts, but a deed still remained very important and more difficult than the two others combined, which was the capture of the large Fort, called Carolina by the French, in which were three hundred well-armed men, under a brave Governor, who was a man to fight stoutly till aid came. Gourgues finally having had from a Spanish troop-sergeant, his prisoner, the outline, height, fortifications, and approaches of the said Fort, caused eight good ladders to be prepared, and roused the whole district against the Spaniard, resolving to march out without giving him time to seduce the neighbouring tribes into coming to his assistance. Meanwhile the Governor sent a Spaniard disguised as an Indian to reconnoitre the state of the French. Though detected by Olotocara, he told the most plausible tale he could to make us believe that he belonged to the second Fort, and that having escaped therefrom, and seeing only Indians on every hand, he had thus disguised himself the better to reach the French, from whose mercy he hoped more than from these barbarians. But when confronted with the troop-sergeant, and proved to be from the large Fort, he was added to the reserve, after having assured Gourgues that the Spaniards believed him to be accompanied by two thousand French, through fear of whom the remnant in the great Fort were greatly disheartened. At this Gourgues resolved to press them hard while in such panic, and leaving his Ensign with fifteen hackbutters to guard the Fort and the mouth of the river, he ordered the Savages to advance by night to take ambush in the woods on both side

of the river. Then he himself set out at dawn, taking with him the sergeant and the spy, close bound, to point out to him in full view what they had so far only showed him in drawings. On the march, Olotocara, a resolute Savage, who never left the Captain's side, told him that he had served him well, and done all that had been commanded him; and that he felt sure he was about to die in the fight at the large Fort. He therefore besought him to give to his wife after his death what he would give to him did he not die, that she might bury it with him and ensure him the better welcome in the spirit village. Captain Gourgues, after praising him for his faithful bravery, conjugal affection, and generous courage worthy of immortal honour, replied that he would rather honour him alive than dead, and that with God's help he would bring him back in triumph.

From the time the Fort was unmasked, the Spaniards did not spare their powder, and fired especially from two double culverins, which, mounted on a breastwork, commanded the length of the river. This caused Captain Gourgues to retire within the woods, where he had sufficient cover to approach the Fort without hurt, and where he had fully resolved to remain until the morning, when he was determined to attack the Spaniards by escalade on the side towards the hill where the ditch did not seem to him well enough flanked for the defence of its curtain-walls; but the Governor hastened his disaster by making a sally with sixty hackbutters, who, after stealing along the ditches, advanced to discover the number and valour of the French, twenty of whom under Cazenove put themselves between the Fort and the Spaniards who had made the sally, and cut off their retreat, while Gourgues ordered the rest to charge them full in front, but not to fire till they were close upon them and their shots would tell, in order afterwards the more easily to kill them with the sword. This order was executed, and the Spaniards, turning their backs as soon as charged,

and hemmed in also by Cazenove, were cut off to a man. At this the rest of the besieged were so terrified that the only decision they could come to to save their lives was to fly to the neighbouring woods, wherein nevertheless, met by the arrows of the waiting Savages, some were forced to turn back, preferring to die by the hands of their French pursuers, knowing that they could hope for no pity from one or other nation, having equally and so greatly outraged both.

The captured Fort was found to be well provided with all necessaries, especially with five double and four medium culverins,¹ with several other pieces of all sorts, eighteen great kegs of powder, and all manner of arms, with which Gourgues at once ordered the boat to be loaded; but all the powder and other furniture was swept away by the inadvertence of a Savage, who, while cooking some fish, set fire to a train of powder laid and concealed by the Spaniards to greet the French at their first assault.

The remnant of the Spaniards was led to join the others, and after Gourgues had spoken to them of the wrong which they had causelessly wrought to the whole French nation, they were one and all hanged on the branches of the same trees whereon the French had suffered, five of whom had been strangled by one of these same Spaniards, who, finding himself in such a plight, confessed his fault and the justice of the punishment which God was inflicting on him. And as they had set inscriptions over the French, the same was done to them, in these words: "I do this not to Spaniards and sailors, but to traitors, robbers, and murderers." Then seeing that his men were not sufficient to man these Forts, much less to colonise the district, and dreading also the return of the Spaniards, with the aid of the Savages he razed them all to the ground in a single day. This done, he

¹ "Five double Colverines, and foure Mynions," says Hakluyt, vol. ix. p. 108 (edition of 1903-5).

sent back the artillery by water to the river Seine, where his vessels were lying, and himself returned on foot, accompanied by eighty hackbutters, with their armour on and their matches burning, followed by forty sailors carrying pikes. By reason of the scanty confidence which he had in so many Savages, he marched always in order of battle, finding the whole path thick with Indians who came to honour him with presents and praises, as the liberator of all the neighbouring districts. Among others, an old woman told him that she had now no care to die, since the Spaniards were driven out, and she had once again seen the French in Florida. On his arrival, finding his ships ready to set sail, he counselled the chiefs to persist in their ancient friendship and alliance with the Kings of France, who would defend them against all nations. This they all promised him, bursting into tears at his departure, and especially Olotocara. To comfort them he promised to return within twelve moons (thus they count their years), and that his King would send them an army, and many presents of knives, hatchets, and all other things they needed. This done, he and his men gave thanks to God, and weighed anchor on May 3, 1568, and had so prosperous a voyage that in seventeen days they made eleven hundred leagues, and pushing on, reached La Rochelle on June 6. After the welcome which he received from the Rochelois, he set sail for Bordeaux; but had a narrow escape, for the very day that he set out from La Rochelle, there arrived eighteen pinnaces and a galley of 200 tons full of Spaniards, who, having heard of the disaster in Florida, came to capture him and give him a merry time of it, and who followed him as far as Blaye,¹ but he had already reached Bordeaux.

Thereafter the King of Spain, informed that they had been unable to catch him, set a great price on his head;

¹ On the north bank of the Gironde, 24 miles NNW. of Bordeaux.

and also requested King Charles to execute justice upon him, as one who had broken their good alliance and confederation, not mentioning that his men had been the first to break this compact. Insomuch that Gourgues, on coming to Paris to present himself to the King, and to inform him not only of the success of his voyage but also of the means of reducing this whole country to his obedience, wherein he declared that he would employ life and fortune, had so unexpected a reception and answer that he was at length, about the year 1570, forced to conceal himself for a long time in the town of Rouen, and but for the aid of his friends, would have been in danger. This roused him to wondrous wrath, considering the services rendered by him both to King Charles and to the Kings of France his predecessors. For he had enlisted in all the armies which had been raised during the space of twenty-five or thirty years, and as Captain of thirty soldiers had withstood the attack of a division of the Spanish army in a place near Siena, where his men were hacked in pieces, and he himself sent to the galleys, in testimony of fair warfare, and of the wondrous goodwill of the Spaniard. Finally, captured by the Turk, and later by the Commander of Malta, he returned home, where he did not remain idle, but voyaged to Brazil, and to the South Sea, and afterwards to Florida; so that the Queen of England desired to have him in her service for his great valour. At length in the year '82 he was appointed by Dom Antoine¹ Admiral of the fleet which he was planning to send against the King of Spain when he took possession of the Kingdom of Portugal. But on his arrival at Tours, he fell sick of an illness which carried him out of this world, to the great regret of all who knew him.

¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ninth edition), vol. xix. p. 547.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF NEW FRANCE

CONTAINING THE VOYAGES MADE UNDER
M. DE VILLEGAGNON TO THE
ANTARCTIC FRANCE
OF BRAZIL

PREFACE

THREE things induce men of their free will to seek distant lands, and to leave their natural homes and the place of their birth. The first is the hope of better things. The second, when a province is so flooded with population that it must needs overflow, and send what it can no longer hold to neighbouring or distant lands, just as after the Flood men dispersed according to their tongues and families to the uttermost parts of the earth, such as Java, Japan, and other lands of the Orient, and Italy and Gaul in the west; and the men of the north spread throughout the whole Roman Empire, as far as Africa, in the time of the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius the younger, and others of their century. The Spaniards, who are not so prolific, have been induced to leave home and to roam the sea by other reasons, to wit, their poverty, their own land not being sufficiently productive to furnish them with the necessities of life. Such is not the case with France. All agree that she is the eye of Europe, and borrows nothing from others unless she wishes. Her fertility is proved by

the proximity of the towns and villages, which on every side lie within sight of each other; which I have often noticed, and when in Picardy took pleasure in counting eighteen or twenty villages round about me, which draw their sustenance from a small district not more than two or three French leagues in extent in any direction. Our Kings, sated with this felicity, and following their example, their vassals and subjects who had the means to carry out some goodly enterprise, thinking that they could nowhere find aught better than their homeland, have had no further care to travel beyond the ocean, or to conquer new lands. Moreover, as has been said elsewhere, since the discovery of the West Indies, France has constantly been racked by wars within and without, which have hindered more than one from trying the same fortune as the Spaniards.

The third cause which makes men grow weary of their country and go forth from it is division, quarrels, legal strife, a cause which formerly drove the Gauls from their territory and made them abandon it to seek another home in Italy, according to Justin¹ the historian; at which time they chased the Tuscans from their country, and built the cities of Milan, Como, Brescia, Verona, Bergamo, Trente, Vicenza, and others.

Whatever the cause which has driven a few of the French to cross the ocean, their enterprises have as yet not been very successful. True it is that they are to be excused, in that after giving proof of their energy and courage, they have not been manfully supported, and such aid as we have given them has been but perfunctory. Of this we have seen examples in the two voyages to Florida; and since we are so far forward, let us pass from the Tropic of Cancer to that of Capricorn,

¹ A Roman historian of uncertain date, whose work *Historiarum Philippicarum, libri* xlv., is an abridgment of and selection from a lost work of Trogus Pompeius, who lived in the reign of Augustus. It deals chiefly with the Kingdom of Macedonia, but has many and various excursions.

and see if things were better there, and whether the Chevalier de Villegagnon had any better luck in the Antarctic France of Brazil ; after which we shall visit Captain Jacques Cartier, who has long been engaged in the discovery of new lands in the direction of the great river of Canada.

CHAPTER I

IN the year 1555, M. de Villegagnon,¹ a Knight of Malta, wearying of France, and having also, so the story goes, met with some disfavour in Brittany, where he was then living, published in several quarters his desire to withdraw from France, and to live in some place apart, far from the cares which are wont to gnaw the lives of those who are engrossed in the affairs of Europe. Therefore he cast his glance and his desire upon the lands of Brazil, which were as yet unoccupied by Christians, with the intention of establishing French colonies therein, without disturbing the Spaniard in what he had discovered and taken possession of. Inasmuch as such an enterprise could not well be carried out without the recognition, co-operation, consent, and authority of the Lord Admiral, who at that time was Gaspard de Coligny, a man imbued with the ideas of the so-called Reformed religion, he gave the said Lord Admiral, and also several noblemen and others of the so-called Reform, to understand, whether hypocritically or no, that he had long had not only an extreme desire to betake himself to some far-off land where he could freely and sincerely serve God in

¹ Lescarbot does scanty justice to the memory of this remarkable man, who, alike in his merits and defects, in his combination of practical bravery and skill with metaphysical subtlety and instability, recalls his younger contemporary, Sir Walter Raleigh. Too subtle to follow blindly the crudities either of Loyola or of Calvin, his restless mind swung hither and thither, and in an age of religious fanaticism he naturally came to grief. Consult: Gaffarel (Paul), *Histoire du Brésil Français* (Paris, 1878); Nogueira (T. Alves), *Der Mönchsritter Villegagnon* (Leipzig, 1887); Smith (Thomas Edward Vermilye), *Villegagnon* (Papers of the American Society of Church History; New York, 1891); Heulhard (Arthur), *Villegagnon, roi d'Amerique* (Paris, 1897). For a list of his works, consult *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle* (Paris) or the Catalogue of the British Museum Library.

accordance with the purity of the Gospel; but also that he desired to establish there for all who wished to retire to it a refuge from persecution, which was, in fact, at that time so violent against the Protestants that several of both sexes and of divers ranks throughout the whole kingdom of France had been burned alive, and their goods confiscated, by edicts of the King and by decisions of the High Court of Parliament. The Admiral, on hearing this resolve, spoke of it to the reigning monarch, King Henry II., with whom he was in high favour, and reasoned with him on the importance of the matter, and of what great future advantage it might be to France if a man of such wide experience as Villegagnon should undertake the voyage in his present frame of mind. The King, whose nature was easily swayed, especially in what was to his own advantage, willingly acquiesced in the proposals of the Admiral, and ordered Villegagnon to be provided with two tall ships, well equipped and armed, and with ten thousand francs for the expenses of his journey. Of this voyage I had omitted the particulars through inability to find any account of it,¹ but at the very moment when the printer was finishing the account of Florida, one of my friends furnished me with most ample details, which were sent hither at the time from Antarctic France by one of the company of the said M. de Villegagnon, the purport of which is as follows.

² "In the year of our Lord 1555, on the twelfth day of July, M. de Villegagnon, having ordered and prepared all things which he thought needful for his enterprise, accompanied by a number of gentlemen, labourers, and sailors, fitted out for war and commerce two tall ships, given him by the order of King Henry, second of this name. Each was of two hundred

¹ This sentence is copied unchanged from the edition of 1609.

² This is one of two letters written by Nicholas Barré, a skilled pilot who accompanied Villegagnon. Later on he accompanied Ribaut on his first voyage to Florida (see Book i. p. 74); he also accompanied Laudonnière thither, and was one of those massacred by the Spaniards. His letters were first published in Paris in 1557, and were republished by Ternaux-Compans in *Archives des Voyages* (Paris, 1841-45).

tons burden, armed and equipped with heavy guns, as well for the defence of the said vessels, as also for placing in position on shore; with a hooker¹ of one hundred tons, which carried the provisions and other supplies necessary in such an expedition. When all these matters had been seen to with care, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the said day he ordered sail to be made from the town of Havre de Grace, at which place the vessels had been loaded. At the moment the sea was fair, ruffled by a light north-east wind, *i.e.* the *Greco Levante*,² which if it had continued was favourable to our voyage, and with its aid we should have gained the lands of the West. But on the next day it changed to the south-west, and there stayed; this gave us plenty to do, and so greatly tormented us that we were compelled to bear away for a point on the coast of England called the Blanquet,³ where we cast anchor in the hope that the fury of this wind would abate, but in vain, for we were fain to weigh anchor with all speed, in order to put back to France and return to the port of Dieppe. During this storm the ship on which the Seigneur de Villegagnon had embarked sprung so great a leak, that in less than half-an-hour we drew out of the wells water amounting to eight or nine hundred strokes of the pump, which would fill four hundred buckets; a strange mishap, and one previously unheard of in a ship just setting out from harbour. For all these reasons we put in to the harbour of Dieppe, though with great difficulty, since the said harbour has but three fathoms of water, and our vessels were drawing two and a half. Moreover, the waves were running high, for the wind was blowing strong, but the townspeople, as is their praiseworthy and honourable habit, were present in

¹ A Dutch vessel with two masts.

² The *Greco Levante* is really the east-north-east wind. (See Jal, *Dictionnaire Nautique*, Paris, 1848.) Lescarbot is fond of showing his acquaintance with nautical technicalities, and occasionally even with nautical slang.

³ What place is here meant seems quite uncertain.

such great numbers to haul on the hawsers and cables, that with their help we entered the harbour on the seventeenth day of the said month. Here several of our gentlemen found that they had seen enough of the sea, thereby fulfilling the proverb: *He looked at the sea, and fled away*. Several soldiers, labourers, and artisans were also dissatisfied and left us. There we remained the space of three weeks, partly to wait for a fair and favouring wind, partly to refit. After this the wind returned to the north-east, and we again set sail, hoping always to get free of the coast and to reach the high sea. But we were unable to do so, and were fain to put back to Havre, whence we had set out, owing to the violence of the wind which was as contrary as before. There we remained until the eve of Our Lady¹ in mid-August. During this time all constantly sought for fresh provisions in order to put to sea again for the third time. On this day the clemency and benignity of our merciful God was made manifest; for He calmed the anger of the sea and the fury of the sky, and changed them in accordance with our prayers. Seeing this, and that the wind bade fair to remain constant in the quarter whence it was blowing, we embarked again, for the third time, with higher hopes than before, and set sail on the said day, the 14th of August. This wind favoured us so greatly that it took us past the Channel, which is a strait between England and Brittany, the Gulf of Guienne and Biscay, Spain, Portugal, Cape St. Vincent, the strait of Gibraltar called the Columns of Hercules, the Madeira Islands, and the seven Fortunate Isles, known as the Canaries.² We had sight of one of these, called the Peak of Teneriffe, the Mount Atlas of the

¹ August 15, the Feast of the Assumption.

² The usual method of transatlantic sailing in the sixteenth century was to drop down the coast of Europe to a suitable latitude, and then to cut across, with the aid of the trade winds (see p. 161, n. 1). The present method of sailing along a Great Circle is first clearly taught by the celebrated English navigator, John Davis, in "The Seaman's Secrets," published in 1598.

Ancients, from which, according to the Geographers, the Atlantic Ocean is named. This mountain is wondrous high, and can be seen from a distance of twenty-five leagues. We approached within cannon-shot of it on Sunday,¹ the twentieth day of our third embarkation. From Havre de Grace to this spot is fifteen hundred leagues. It lies twenty-eight degrees north of the Torrid line; and produces, so far as I can learn, sugar in great quantity and good wine. This isle is inhabited by the Spaniards, as we discovered; for when we thought to cast anchor to ask for fresh water and provisions, from a strong fortress at the foot of a mountain they hung out a red ensign, and fired two or three shots at us from a culverin, one of which pierced the Vice-Admiral of our company. It was about the hour of eleven or twelve in the day, with a wondrous heat and a dead calm; thus we were fain to endure their shots. But on our part we also cannonaded them till several houses were broken and shattered; the women and children fled through the fields. If our long-boats and skiffs had been ready, I believe that we would have found our Brazil in this fair island. No one was hurt save one of our gunners, who wounded himself while firing a cardinal,² whereof he died ten days later. At length we saw that nothing was to be won there save blows; so we put out to sea, and approached the coast of Barbary, which is a part of Africa. Our favouring wind stayed with us, and we passed the river Loire in Barbary, Cape Blanco, which is within the tropic of Cancer, and on the eighth day of the said month we reached the latitude of the Promontory³ of Ethiopia, where we began to feel the heat. From the island which we had approached to the said Promontory is three hundred leagues. This extreme heat caused a pestilential fever in the vessel on which was the said Seigneur, for the water stank and

¹ This Sunday fell on September 1. [L.]

² A species of cannon used in the sixteenth century.

³ Cape Verde.

was shockingly foul, and the men on board could not be restrained from drinking it. This fever was so contagious and deadly that out of one hundred persons it spared but ten who did not catch it; of the ninety who fell sick five died, which was very pitiful and the cause of many tears. The said Seigneur de Villegagon was compelled to transfer himself to the Vice-Admiral, on which, by his order, I had embarked, and where we were all healthy and fresh, though greatly grieved at the mishap which had befallen our consort. This Promontory is fourteen degrees north of the Torrid Zone, and the country is inhabited by Moors. There our good wind failed us, and for six whole days we were tormented with lulls and calms, and in the evenings at sunset with whirlwinds and squalls of the utmost violence and fury, accompanied by such foul rain that those who were wet with the said rain became straightway covered with large blisters, so furious were these winds. We could only carry very little of our storm-sail;¹ yet the Lord delivered us, for He sent the south-west wind, contrary indeed, but we were too far to westward. This wind was constantly fresh, which greatly restored our minds and bodies, and with its aid we sailed along the coast of Guinea, gradually approaching the Torrid Zone, which we found so temperate, contrary to the opinion of the Ancients, that a man needed not to strip off his clothes by reason of the heat. We passed the said centre of the earth on October 10, near the islands of St. Thomas,² which are just under the Equator, near the land of Manicongo. Although this was not our direct route, we were compelled to take it, in obedience to the wind, which was against us; such was our obedience that instead of three hundred leagues, which were all we had to make in a direct course, we made a thousand or fourteen hundred, insomuch that had we wished

¹ This is apparently the meaning of this obscure passage. I had at first translated it: "We dared not go far from the shelter of the main-sail," and am still not quite certain.

² Still so called. They belong to Portugal.

to go to the Cape of Good Hope, which is thirty-seven degrees beyond the line in the East Indies, we should have reached it sooner than we did Brazil. Five degrees north of the Equator, and five degrees south-west of it, we found so great a number of fish of such divers species that sometimes we thought that we had run aground on them. The species are porpoises, dolphins, whales, stadins,¹ bonito, dorados, albacore, pelamides, and the flying-fish, which we saw fly in troops like the starlings in our country. There our water failed, save that from the ship's gutters, which was so foul and horrible that no infection can be compared to it. When drinking we were compelled to close our eyes and hold our noses. In these great perplexities, and almost without hope of reaching Brazil, for the long journey of nine hundred or a thousand leagues which remained, the Lord God sent us a south-west wind, whereat we were fain to turn our prow westward, which was our desired direction. We were so well sped by this good wind that on Sunday morning, October 20, we had sight of a fair island, named Ascension in the Charts. We were all rejoiced to see it, for it showed us where we were, and what distance remained to the land of America. It is eight degrees and a half below the line.² We were unable to approach nearer to it than a great league.³ It is a wondrous sight to see this island, at a distance of five hundred leagues from the mainland. We continued our journey with a favouring wind, and made such progress both day and night that on Sunday morning, November 3, we caught sight of Western India, the fourth part of the world, called America from the name of its discoverer in the year 1493.⁴ The reader need not ask of our great joy, and

¹ This name is not found in any of the sixteenth century treatises on fishes. It may be a corruption of Espadon=sword-fish.

² Ascension lies in 7° 55' 55" S.

³ The distance denoted by a *lieue* differed at different times. In Lescarbot it may roughly be taken as two miles; the *grande lieue* as between three and four.

⁴ Amerigo Vespucci (1451-1512). He is said to have accompanied Columbus on his second voyage in 1493, but evidence for this is lacking.

whether all returned thanks to the Lord, in view of our lack of provisions and of the length of time which had elapsed since we set sail. The spot where we made our landfall is on the twentieth parallel, and is called by the Savages *Pararbe*. It is inhabited by the Portuguese, and by a nation which is at mortal feud with them, but with whom we are allied. From this spot we had still three degrees to the tropic of Capricorn, a distance of eighty leagues. We arrived on the tenth day of November at the river of Ganabara.¹ It is immediately under the tropic of Capricorn. There we landed, singing praises and giving thanks to the Lord. We found five or six hundred Savages absolutely naked, armed with bows and arrows; these gave us to understand in their language that we were welcome, offering us their possessions, and lighting bonfires for joy that we had come to defend them against the Portuguese and their other mortal and deadly foes. The spot is naturally beautiful and easy to defend, by reason of the narrowness of the entrance, which is shut in on both sides by two high mountains. In the middle of this entrance, which is perhaps half a league in width, is a rock a hundred feet in length and sixty in breadth, whereon M. de Villegagnon erected a wooden fort, in which he placed part of his artillery, to prevent our enemies coming to work us harm. This river is so wide that all the navies of the world could lie there in safety. Here and there lie small meadows and very beautiful islands, adorned with evergreen forests, and on one of these, within cannon-shot of the one which he fortified, he placed the rest of his artillery and all his men, fearing that if he landed on the mainland the Savages would plunder us to have our goods."

Such is the account of the first voyage made to the land of Brazil, wherein I perceive a great mistake, either of the Chevalier de Villegagnon or of those who sent him. For why take so much trouble to go to a land to possess it, if

¹ The harbour of Rio de Janeiro.

one is not to possess it altogether? And to do so one must settle on the mainland and get it well under cultivation; for in vain shall a man dwell in a country without the necessities of life. And if one is not strong enough to make an impression, and to rule over the inhabitants of the country, it is folly to undertake anything of the sort and to expose oneself to so many dangers. There are prisons enough in every land without going so far in search of them.¹

Touching the manners and customs of the Brazilians, and the produce of the soil, we shall gather together in our last book not only what is related by the author of the above account, but such facts as we have gathered from others.

¹ Lescarbot's wisdom is worthy of Solomon, but the error of Villegagnon was repeated by more than one later navigator (*e.g.* by De Monts and Champlain at Ste. Croix; cp. Book IV. chap. iv.).

CHAPTER II

AFTER M. de Villegagnon had unloaded his vessels, he resolved to send one of them back to France, and at the same time give an account to the King, to my Lord the Admiral, and to others, of his voyages and of the hope he had of doing there some good deed redounding to the honour of God, to the service of the King, and to the comforting of many of his subjects. And in order not to lack aid and fresh provisions in the following year, and not to remain there as though in disgrace (like those who in old times were sent off to the islands as a form of punishment), knowing that he could accomplish nothing without the said Admiral, and that he must conform to his humour or abandon the enterprise, he wrote also especially to the Church of Geneva and to the ministers of that place, praying them to aid him as far as possible in the advancement of his design, and to this end to send him ministers and other persons well instructed in the Christian religion, to indoctrinate the Savages therein, and to win them to the knowledge of their salvation.

When the letters had been received and read, the Genevese, desirous of the advancement of their religion (as every one is naturally drawn to favour his own sect), gave public thanks to God that they saw the way prepared to establish their doctrine in those parts, and to cause the light of the Gospel to shine among these barbarous tribes, who were without God, without law, without religion. The said Lord Admiral sent letters to Philippe de Corguilleray,

called M. du Pont, his neighbour at Châtillon sur Loin, who had left his house to go and dwell near Geneva, urging him to undertake the voyage and become the leader of those who wished to make their way towards Villegagnon in Brazil. The Church of Geneva also urged him, and the ministers too; so that, though old and failing, he nevertheless, through zeal and affection, made the care of his wife and children of less importance than this enterprise, in which he accepted the charge laid upon him.

A number of young students were found, who after examination were thought capable of instructing these tribes in the Christian religion. He was also provided with artisans and workmen, as Villegagnon had instructed, who without fear of the hard mode of life in that country, set forth in the letters of Villegagnon—for there was neither bread nor wine, but in place of bread they were compelled to use a certain flour made of a white root used by the Brazilians, as shall be set forth in this same chapter—with lightness of heart followed the said M. du Pont to the number of fourteen, not including the labourers. Others, dreading the mode of life in that country, preferred to sniff the smell of French or Genevese kitchens rather than the dried meat of Brazil, and to know that country rather by theory than by practice. But before allowing them to set out, I must needs relate what was taking place in the Antarctic France of Brazil among the band which Villegagnon had led thither, which I shall do by giving the details of a second letter sent to France in the month of May 1556, framed in these words:—

“My brothers, and best friends, &c. Two days after the departure of the ships (which occurred on February 14, 1556) we discovered a conspiracy, hatched by all the artisans and labourers whom we had brought, to the number of thirty, against M. de Villegagnon and all the rest of us,

who were but eight to defend ourselves. We found out that their leader was an interpreter given to the said nobleman by a gentleman of Normandy, and who had accompanied the said nobleman to this spot. This interpreter was married to an Indian woman, whom he would neither leave nor take to wife. Now, the said M. de Villegagnon from the beginning conducted his house as an honourable and God-fearing man, forbidding any one to have aught to do with these Indian bitches on pain of death, unless he took her to wife.¹ This interpreter had lived, as do all the others, in the most filthy and Epicurean manner of life which can be told, without God, without faith, without law, for the space of seven years. Therefore it grieved him to leave his whore and his former life, to live as an honourable man and in the company of Christians. First of all, he proposed to poison M. de Villegagnon, and us also; but one of his companions dissuaded him. Then he addressed himself to those of the artisans and labourers whom he knew to be discontented, overworked, and ill-fed. For as no provisions had been brought from France for life on shore, we were fain from the first day to give up cider and instead to drink undiluted water; and in place of biscuit to accustom ourselves to a certain flour of the country made of the roots of trees, which have a leaf like the *Paeonia Mas*, and grow higher than a man's head. This sudden and unexpected change was considered strange, especially by the artisans, who had come for nothing but their private profit and gain. There was added the unpleasant water, the rough and lonely country, and the incredible toil to which they were subjected, owing to the necessity of putting up houses where we were; for all these reasons he easily corrupted them, setting before them the great liberty they would have, and thereafter wealth also, of which they would freely give to the Savages in order to live after their

¹ Even his enemy De Lery (p. 164, n. 1) admits the wisdom and the sincerity of Villegagnon in this.

desires. These poor fellows readily agreed, and in their first ardour wished to put a torch to the powder, which had been placed in a lightly made cellar, over which we were all sleeping; but some disapproved, because all the merchandise, furniture, and jewels would have been lost, and nothing would have been gained. Therefore they resolved to come and sack us, and cut our throats while we were in our first sleep. Yet they found a difficulty with three Scotchmen whom the said nobleman kept as a guard, whom they likewise set about corrupting. But these, on discovering their ill intent, and that the affair was fully decided upon, came and told me of it, and revealed the whole matter. This I at once disclosed to the said nobleman and to my comrades, to devise a remedy. We applied a sudden remedy, seizing four of the ringleaders, who were put in chains and manacled in our presence; the originator was not among them. On the next day one of those who were in irons, feeling that his guilt was manifest, dragged himself to the water and miserably drowned himself; another was strangled. The other two now serve as slaves; the rest live without murmuring, and work much more diligently than before. The interpreter, its originator, who had been absent, was warned that his design had been discovered. He has not since returned to us, but is now living with the Savages, and has corrupted all the other interpreters of the district, to the number of twenty or twenty-five; these do and say all the evil they can to frighten us and make us return to France. And as it has happened that since our arrival in the country the Savages have been ravaged by a pestilential fever, whereof more than eight hundred have died, they have persuaded them that M. de Villegagnon was the cause of their death; at this they have conceived such a prejudice against us that if we were on the mainland they would be fain to make war upon us; but the situation of our settlement prevents them. This is on an islet six hundred paces long and one hundred wide,

surrounded on all sides by the sea, which is as wide on both sides as a culverin can carry, so that they cannot reach us when their madness seizes them. The place is naturally strong, and, further, we have artificially fortified it with flankers and ramparts, so that when they come to see us in their dug-outs and *almadies*, they quake with fear. It is true that there is a lack of fresh water, but we are building a cistern, which will contain and preserve six months' water for all our company. Since then we have lost a large ship's boat and a long-boat against the rocks, and have greatly missed them, for we can get neither water, wood, nor provisions save by boat. In addition, a master carpenter and two other labourers have gone off to join the Savages, to live in greater freedom. Notwithstanding, God has given us grace to resist constantly all these attempts, and we do not doubt of His mercy. These mishaps His will has sent upon us to show that His word takes root in a place with difficulty, in order that the glory may be given to Him; but also that when it hath taken root it endureth for ever. These troubles have hindered me from exploring the country, to see whether there are minerals or other matters of interest, which will be for another time. Frequent menaces are hurled at us that the Portuguese will come to besiege us, but the Divine Goodness will guard us therefrom. I beseech both of you to write me all your news, &c. From the river of Ganabara, in the land of Brazil, in Antarctic France, under the tropic of Capricorn, this twenty-fifth day of May 1556. Your good friend, N. B."¹

Now to return to the account which we had begun to give of the voyage of M. du Pont. The volunteers who were of his company set out from Geneva on September 10, 1556, and visited the Lord Admiral at his house at Châtillon sur Loin, where he encouraged them to pursue their enterprise, and promised to assist them with regard to

¹ Nicolas Barré.

shipping. Thence they came to Paris, where in the course of the month which they passed there several gentlemen and others, hearing of their voyage, cast in their lot with them. Then they departed to Honfleur, where they waited till their ships were ready, and fitted out for setting sail.

CHAPTER III

WHILE the Genevese were making such preparations as we have related, M. de Bois-le-Comte, the nephew of M. de Villegagnon, was at Honfleur making ready his three vessels, which he ordered to be fitted out as ships of war at the King's expense. On their final equipment with provisions and other necessaries, the anchors were weighed, and they put to sea on November 19. The said M. de Bois-le-Comte, chosen Vice-Admiral of this fleet, had in his vessel eighty men in all, both soldiers and sailors; on the second were six score; in the third some ninety persons, including six lads who were being taken out to learn the language of the country, with five young girls and a woman in control, in order to begin the propagation of the French race in those parts.

On their departure there was no stint of cannonades, nor of the blare of trumpets, nor of the sound of drums and fifes, as is the custom of ships of war when they put to sea. At the end of a few days, with a favouring wind, they reached the Fortunate Isles, called the Canaries, where some of the sailors thought to set foot on shore to do a little plundering, but were repulsed by the Spaniards, who had spied them from afar. On December 16 they were overtaken by a violent tempest, which sunk a boat in tow of one of the ships, wherein were two sailors to look after it, who thought that this was their last time of drinking to their friends. For in such an accident it is very difficult to save a man amid the great waves of the sea. However, after much trouble, they were saved by the ropes which were thrown them. During

this tempest a very remarkable accident occurred, which I shall gladly relate here, though I do not wish to dilate on all the details given by Jean de Lery,¹ the historian of this voyage. The cook one morning had set some bacon in a tub to soak for the next meal, when a wave of the sea, leaping with violence on the ship's deck, carried it more than a pike's length overboard (that is to say, over the ship's side), and another wave coming from the opposite quarter threw it and its contents, without upsetting the tub, with great violence back to the same spot whence it had been carried away. In this connection the same author relates a similar incident from Valerius Maximus,² which I long ago noted with wonder, to wit: the case of a sailor who, while emptying the water out of the hold of a ship (with the pump, as one must suppose), was dashed into the sea by a wave, and straightway driven on board by another from the opposite direction.

On the 18th of the said month of December our French sighted the Grand Canary, so called, in my opinion, because of the sugar-canes which it produces in abundance, and not, as Pliny and Solinus state, because it produces great numbers of dogs.³ Near this island is the one now called

¹ Jean de Lery (1534-1611) was one of the Huguenot students previously spoken of, and is Lescarbot's chief authority in this book. Though he returned from Brazil in 1558, his history of the Colony was not published till 1578, when it appeared at La Rochelle and at Rouen, under the title of *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre de Brésil*. He had previously contributed a paragraph to the *Histoire des Martyrs* of Jean Crespin (first edition 1554, frequently enlarged and reprinted; best edition, Geneva, 1619), on the fate of the three men drowned by order of Villegagnon (see Lesc., Bk. II., chap. x.). In 1580 an enlarged and improved edition of his history was issued; others followed in 1585, 1594, 1599, 1600, and 1677. In 1586 appeared a Latin version, and a second in 1594. A German translation was issued at Frankfort in 1593, and a Dutch at Amsterdam in 1597. The edition of 1580 was reprinted at Paris in 1880, by M. Paul Gaffarel. De Lery was a bitter partisan, and unfair to Villegagnon, but the violence of Heulhard's attack on him is absurd. His book is in part a reply to André Thevet, the celebrated Franciscan traveller. See p. 191, note 1.

² C. Valerius Maximus, *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri novem*, a work which enjoyed great popularity in the sixteenth century.

³ i.e. *canis* (Latin).

Teneriffe, of which we have previously spoken. And since we are on the subject of the Canary Islands there can be no harm in stopping there for a moment, especially as the ownership of them which the Spaniards now enjoy they owe to the French. They are seven in number, distant from each other forty or fifty leagues, called by the Ancients by the general term of Fortunate, because of their beauty and of the temperature of the air, since they never suffer from excess of heat or cold; wherefore it is no wonder that some have taken them to be the Hesperides, whereof the poets have sung so many fables. Of these seven, four have long been Christian, namely, Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, Gomera, and the island of Iron.¹ The other three, called Grand Canary, Teneriffe, and Palma, were inhabited by Idolaters, but I understand that now they are all Christian.² These people before the coming of Christianity were barbarians, and always at war, and slew each other like beasts; and the strongest had lordship and dominion over the rest. They went absolutely naked, as do the people of New France, and allowed no one to come near their islands. But sometimes when the Christians were on the watch to catch them and send them for sale in Spain, it often happened that they themselves were captured; but the barbarians were humane enough not to kill their prisoners, but set them to what they considered the vilest of all possible occupations, that of skinning their goats, and quartering them as do the butchers, until they had paid their ransom; and then they were set free. Through these prisoners we have our knowledge of these islands, and of their customs and ways of life, which I have not endeavoured to set down here, in order not to wander from my subject. But I shall repeat what I have already said, that the Spaniards owe their possession of these

¹ Hierro.

² The editions of 1609 and 1611-12 read—"are inhabited by idolaters, and, so far as I know, have not yet been conquered by Christians." The native inhabitants, or Guanches, had really been almost entirely exterminated by the Spaniards at the end of the fifteenth century.

islands to the French, according to the account given by Peter Martyr,¹ the historian of the West Indies, who speaks of them in this wise:—"Although the ancients," he states, "had knowledge of these islands, yet the memory of them had been lost; but in the year 1405 a certain William de Bentachor, a Frenchman by birth, commissioned by a Queen of Castile to discover new lands, found the two Canaries, now called Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, which after his death his heirs sold to the Spaniards," &c. Here one may remark that the Spaniards, perhaps through envy, have wished to hide the name and darken the glory of the first discoverer of the Canaries, after these had remained for so many centuries, as it were buried and lost to human knowledge. For this William de Bentachor was really called Béthencourt,² a Gentleman of Picardy, who in his will implored the King of Castile to be the guardian of his children; but the King preferred to be the guardian of the islands conquered by Béthencourt, as indeed he did, and added others to them, whereof he was able to take possession with more justice.

Touching their situation, all are to-day agreed that they lie about twenty-seven and a half degrees on this side of the Equator.³ And therefore the Geographers and historians who have placed them in the neighbourhood of the seventeenth parallel or thereabouts have, in making this mistake, led astray many others, following therein Ptolemy, who has marked down the Fortunate Isles at the Promontory of Arsinaria, which are really the Cape Verde Islands. But there is ground for acquitting Ptolemy of this, and for saying that the copyists of his books, unable to understand the Greek numbers, have

¹ Petrus Martyr Anglerius. *De novis insulis nuper repertis* (1532) and *De orbe novo decades octo* (1530). There is a translation of the first in Hakluyt, and of the second in Richard Eden (1555), reprinted by Edward Arber (1885), "The Decades of the Newe Worlde." He was a native of Milan, and is not to be confounded with his contemporary, Petrus Martyr Vermiglius, a Florentine religious writer.

² See p. 49, note 2.

³ The Canaries extend from 27° 4' to 29° 25'.

been the cause of the mistake found in this author. For it is not credible that a man such as he, who never proceeds save with great weight and learning, would have made such a slip in this matter.

Our French then, after passing the Canaries, coasted along the shore of Barbary, a country inhabited by the Moors, and so low that as far as the eye could reach they saw immense meadows, and thought they were about to run aground upon them. And as power and insolence usually go together, seeing their strength in men and in arms, our heroes had no scruple in attacking any ship or caravel which came in their way, and in taking whatever they saw fit. Herein I have no wish to praise them; and it would have been better to make friends by a peaceful settlement than to proceed by such methods. Therefore God did not bless their enterprises. In the last voyages made to New France our vessels were honourably equipped, and several times—even to my own knowledge—it would have been possible to get to windward and to force several ships which we met to strike their sails, but no one ever proposed to do them wrong. Nor is this the design of those who at present would fain colonise New France; for these seek only the fruits won from sea and land by lawful trafficking, and do not envy the fortune of others.

CHAPTER IV

OUR French, being in this region of the Torrid Zone, three or four degrees north of the Equator, found navigation very difficult on account of the uncertainty of several winds which there come together and carry vessels in different directions, to the east, north, west, according to circumstances. Jean de Lery, seeking the reason of this, supposes that the equinoctial line¹ passing from east to west is, as it were, the back and spine of the world for travellers from north to south; so that to reach it from one side or the other, one must mount up to this summit of the world, which is difficult. He adds another reason, which is that here is the birthplace of the winds which, blowing in opposite directions, assail the vessels from every quarter. And for a third he says that the ocean tides originate at this point, which makes the approaches to it difficult. Now, though these reasons are carefully thought out, I cannot in good faith agree to them. For as to the first, it is certain that as land and sea form a round globe, the ascent is no more difficult near the equinoctial line than at the 20th, 40th, and 60th degrees. As for the second, it is certain that the north wind does not rise there; and daily experience shows that on the line and within the Torrid Zone the east winds reign and blow unceasingly, not permitting those contrary to them to have any access, whether west wind or south wind, which are called the rainy winds. This is why the Spaniards on their voyages to Peru have usually more trouble in making the Canaries than on all the rest of the voyage, on

¹ *i.e.*, the Equator.

account of the south winds, which there begin to make their strength felt; but these past, they sail along without difficulty as far as the entrance of the Torrid Zone, when they at once find this east wind which follows the sun,¹ and which drives them along in such wise that they have hardly any further need to touch the sails during the rest of the voyage. For this reason they call this great expanse of sea the Ladies' Gulf, on account of its calm and serenity. And at length they reach the islands of Dominica, Guadeloupe, Desirade, Marie Galante, and the others in that region, which may be called the suburbs of the Indies. But on their return they take another route, and come to Havana to seek a higher latitude outside the tropic of Cancer, where reign the south-west winds, as does the east wind within the Tropics, which south-west winds help them along until they come in sight of the Azores or Terceiras,² and thence to Seville. And with regard to the third reason, I affirm that in the great open sea there are no currents, but that currents occur when the sea, compressed between two shores, does not find a free passage to continue his ebb and flow, insomuch that he is compelled to straiten his course like a river passing through a narrow channel. But assuming that the tide takes its rise at that point; in this great and spacious expanse of sea it is slow, and causes no great hindrance to ships in their approach to the Equator; and in addition, if there are six hours of flow against the sailors, there is a like period in their favour at its ebb, without counting the distance covered by their own efforts without the aid of the tide. Nor can I agree that the origin of the tide is at the equinoctial line, for there is more plausibility in the belief that there is but one tide extending from one pole to the other, so that when it is ebb at the North Pole it is flood at the South, than in ascribing to the ocean a double tide, which one would be obliged to do

¹ *i.e.*, the NE. Trade Wind.

² Terceira is the name of the chief island in the Azores group (Portuguese *Açores* = Hawk); but to apply the name to the whole group is very unusual.

if we place its origin at the said line; unless one prefers to say that the tide is like the boiling of a pot, which extends in all directions equally at the same time. And if one wishes to know the cause of this east wind which is perpetual beneath this line which girdles the world, I willingly agree with the judgment of the learned naturalist, Joseph Acosta,¹ who attributes this to the *primum mobile*, whereof the circular motion is so rapid that it leads in its dance not only all the other heavens, but also the lighter elements, fire and air, which also along with it turn from east to west in twenty-four hours, while earth and water, owing to their excessive weight, remain at the centre of the world. Now this motion is the more great, vehement, and strong in proportion as it approaches the equinoctial line, where the circumference of the revolution of the heavens is greatest, and in proportion as we approach one or the other tropic this vehemence lessens; insomuch that in their neighbourhood, by some mysterious repercussion of the course and movement of the Zone, the vapours which the air draws with itself (whence proceed the winds which blow from east to west) are compelled to return almost in a contrary direction; and thence arise the rainy winds, and the south-west winds which are customary and usual outside the tropics. I say, then, that the most probable cause of the difficulty experienced by our French in reaching the equinoctial line was that they were not yet at sufficient distance from the land (as is proved by the foul rains, which can only have come from the terrene vapours, which are coarse and unhealthy), and thus found themselves surrounded by certain off-shore winds, the more diverse on account of the uneven nature of the land with its mountains and valleys, rivers, lakes, and local peculiarities, and by certain sea-winds, which, meeting with this strong easterly wind, driven on by the force of the sun and the

¹ Book III. of his *Natural History of the Indies*, chap. vi. [L.]

movement of the *primum mobile*, could not pass on, save perhaps after a great struggle, which stayed their vessels and scattered them hither and thither.

As for the foul rains of which I have just spoken, they are of common occurrence in the neighbourhood of the land along the coast of Guinea, within the Torrid Zone, and are so contaminating that if they fall on the skin they raise blotches and large blisters, and even stain the garments with their filth. Besides, the fresh water on board ran short, or at least grew so rank from the burning heat of the climate that it became full of worms, and they were compelled when drinking it to hold the cup in one hand and the nose with the other, such was the stench it exhaled. The biscuits were as bad; for the long-continued rains had penetrated even into the storeroom, and entirely spoiled them; so that the crew were forced to eat as many worms as pieces of bread. This would have been in some wise tolerable for a short time, but for about five weeks they were driven hither and thither at random, unable to approach the equinoctial line, at which they at last arrived with a north-north-east wind on February 4, 1557. Here it is fitting to state, for the benefit of the less learned, that this part of the world is said to be under the equinoctial line (otherwise called the Equator), because when the Sun reaches that quarter of the heaven which is midway between the two poles (which happens twice in the year, to wit, on March 11,¹ when he is coming nearer to us, and on September 13, when he withdraws to bear summer to the Antarctic regions) the days and the nights are equal over the whole world. And as when the Sun has passed this line our days grow shorter, so when he reaches our side of the same line they diminish in the Antarctic regions. Now, this line exists only in the imagination, but it is necessary to make use of the word to understand the real fact and to be able to

¹ Old Style. Much of this chapter, and of those which follow, is taken bodily from De Lery.

explain it. One must further remark that the tribes who dwell beneath this imaginary line have their days and nights always of the same length, for which reason also it may well be called equinoctial.

Now, as on many occasions memorial ceremonies are held, so too it is the custom of sailors (who are naturally frolicsome), on reaching the equinoctial line, to make war upon those who have not yet crossed it. They plunge them into the water, or set them to seesaw, or tie them to the mainmast to fix it in their memory. Yet one may ransom himself from this penalty by paying for wine for the ship's company.

Helped by this north-north-east wind (of which we have spoken), they crossed the Equator, and sailed four degrees further, whence they began to catch sight of the Antarctic pole, after long remaining without sight of either one or other, on account of the calms and of the irregular winds which clash together near the middle of the world (which I take to lie beneath the said equinoctial line), as if to combat and dispossess this easterly wind of which we have spoken, which is in no way dismayed at the prospect. And even although a man had a favouring wind, yet when at the centre of so great a circumference as that of the heavens it is not possible to see either one pole or the other, still less the two at once, as soon as he is on the said line; he must, therefore, approach several degrees nearer to the one or the other; the more so as the two poles may be compared to two imaginary stationary points, like the hub of a wheel around which it revolves, or like the two invisible points which one may imagine on opposite sides of a rolling ball, to see both of which at once one would have to be at the centre of the said ball; so to see the two poles or axles of the world, one would have to be at the centre of the earth. But since there is so great a distance from this centre to its surface or to that of the sea, the result is that, notwithstanding the roundness of these two lower elements, one cannot on reaching the equinoctial line at once catch sight of the pole.

CHAPTER V

ON February 13 the masters of our French ships, on taking an observation with the astrolabe, found that they had the sun right in the zenith; and after some vexatious delays and calms, driven by a good east wind which lasted several days, they came in sight of the land of Brazil on February 26, 1557, to the great content of all, as may be imagined after they had remained nearly four months at sea without putting in to any harbour.

The first land which they sighted is mountainous, and is called *Huvassou* by the Savages of that country, on approaching which they fired several cannon, as is the custom, to warn the inhabitants, who did not fail to come down to the shore in large numbers. But the French, perceiving that they were *Margajas*, allies of the Portuguese, and consequently our enemies, did not disembark, save some sailors who went in a boat within bowshot of the shore, holding out knives, mirrors, combs, and other trinkets, in return for which they asked for provisions. This request the Savages speedily complied with, and brought their root-flour, hams, and the flesh of a species of wild boar, with other such victuals and fruits as the country produces; for at that season, though it was the month of February, the trees were as green as they are here in June. The Savages showed less scruple in visiting the French ships. Six of them and a woman came out, all entirely naked, painted, and blackened over the whole body, with their lower lips pierced, and in each hole a green stone, the size of a tester,¹ well polished and cunningly fitted

¹ A piece of money first struck off under Louis XII., varying in value from eighteenpence to sixpence.

in, to add to their attractiveness and beauty. But when the stone is removed they are disgustingly hideous, looking as if they had two mouths below their nose. The woman had her ears also pierced in such a hideous manner that one could have inserted one's finger, and wore in them earrings of white bone which kept knocking against her shoulders. These Savages were very desirous for our people to remain, but they were unwilling to trust them, especially as it was necessary to push on. Nine or ten leagues further on the French found themselves near a Portuguese fort called by them *Spiritus Sanctus*,¹ and by the Savages *Moab*, lying about twenty degrees south of the Equator. The guards of this fort, perceiving by the appearance of the crew that they were not of their nation, fired three cannon at the French, who repaid them in kind, but both were equally ineffective. Thence they passed on to a place named *Tapemiri*, and further on coasted past the *Paraïbes*,² beyond which, as one approaches Cape Frio, there are shallows and reefs, interspersed with pointed rocks which must be carefully shunned. And just here there is a plain about fifteen leagues long, inhabited by a wild and singular tribe named the *Ou-etacas*, as fleet of foot as stags and roes—yes, fleeter, for they run them down; they wear their hair down to their hips, contrary to the custom of the other Brazilians, who cut it short behind; they eat raw flesh, have a language of their own, and have no traffic with the nations of Europe, as they do not wish their country to become known; like the Spaniards of America, who do not allow any foreign nation to live among them. Yet when the neighbours of these *Ou-etacas* have goods which they wish to sell to them, their fashion and manner of barter is as follows. The *Margaja*, *Caraja*, or *Tououpinambaoult* (the tribes nearest to them), or other Savages of that country, without trusting

¹ Still known as *Espirito Santo*.

² Now *Parahyba*. See also p. 155. It is close to Rio de Janeiro, and must not be confounded with the more important place of the same name further north.

or approaching the *Ou-etacas*, show him from afar what he can have, either bill-hook, knife, comb, mirror, or anything else, and by signs ask him if he is willing to barter something in exchange for it. If the *Ou-etacas* agrees, showing in return feathers, green stones to ornament the lower lip, or any other product of their country, the other will place his merchandise on a stone or piece of wood, and withdraw; and then the *Ou-etacas* will bring what he has and leave it in place thereof; then he withdraws and allows the *Margaja*, or whoever it is, to come and get it; and till that is done they keep faith with one another. But when each has his exchange, and has returned within the limits whence he had parleyed, the truce is broken, and either is free to capture the other; as did our soldiers in the recent wars, issuing forth from some neutral town, such as the little town of Vervins in Thiérache, my birthplace, which belongs to the most illustrious house of Coucy. After leaving behind these elfish *Ou-etacas*, they passed in sight of another region near-by named *Mak-hé*,¹ whose inhabitants cannot certainly sleep all the time, with such alarm-clocks so close at hand. On the shore of this district, a great rock may be seen in the shape of a tower, which flashes back the rays of the sun, and shines so brightly that some think it to be a sort of emerald. And in truth sailors, both Portuguese and French, call it the emerald of *Mak-hé*. But the spot is inaccessible, surrounded as it is by a thousand sharp rocks which jut out far to seaward.

Near-by are three small islands, called the islands of *Mak-hé*, where they cast anchor, but in the night so furious a tempest arose that the cable of one of the ships broke and she was driven toward the shore, into two fathoms of water, at the mercy of the Savages. Seeing this, the Master and the Pilot cried out in despair two or three times, "We are lost! we are lost!" Yet in this necessity the sailors made speed to cast out another anchor, which by God's grace held, and in

¹ Still known as Macahé, in the Bay of Ste. Anne.

this manner they were saved. A tempest on the high sea is a rude companion, when one sees naught but mountains of water and yawning valleys; yet it is but sport in comparison with the risk to a vessel on a lee-shore, in perpetual danger of driving ashore or of being broken to pieces against the rocks. But on the high sea there is no such risk, when one has made speed to furl the sails in time. Truly in such case one is buffeted about in marvellous fashion, but danger is absent; in a good vessel, I mean, for sometimes a wave will carry away a portion of an ill-built ship, as I have heard tell happened not long ago to a captain who was carried off while in his cabin near the tiller.

The tempest past, the wind blew favourably for making Cape Frio, one of the best known ports and harbours in that region for the voyages of the French. On anchoring there, and firing several cannon, those who landed found on shore a great number of Savages named *Tououpinambouls*, allies and confederates of our nation, who, in addition to signs of affection and a friendly reception, gave our French news of Paycolas, as they called M. de Villegagnon. In this spot they saw a number of parrots, which fly in troops, at a great height, and love to bill and coo like turtle-doves. Setting out thence with a fair wind, they reached the arm of the sea and the river called by the Savages Ganabara, and by the Portuguese Janeiro,¹ on March 7, 1557, where at the distance of about a quarter of a league they saluted the said M. de Villegagnon with many a cannonade, while with great rejoicing he paid them back in kind.

¹ Spelt *Genevre* by Lescarbot.

CHAPTER VI

ON landing on the island where M. de Villegagnon was lodged, the company gave thanks to God, then went to meet the said M. de Villegagnon, who was waiting for them in an open space, where he received them with much demonstration of joy and content. When the embracings were over, M. du Pont began to speak and set forth to him the motive of their voyage, carried through amid so many perils, pains, and difficulties, which, in a word, was to set up in that country a Church which he called Reformed according to the Word of God, as he had written to those who had sent them. To which he replied, says the author, that having for a long time in very truth, and with his whole heart, desired such a consummation, he gladly received them on those conditions; and since his special desire was that their Church should be the best reformed of all, he declared that from that moment his purpose was the repressal of vice, the reform of luxury in dress (I am loath to believe that there was need of it so soon), and, in brief, of everything which could cause hindrance to the pure service of God. Then raising his eyes to heaven and clasping his hands, "Lord God," said he, "I give Thee thanks that Thou hast sent unto me that which for so long time I have so ardently demanded of Thee." And again addressing himself to them, he said: "My children (for I would fain be your father), as Jesus Christ when in this world did nothing for Himself, but all that He did was done for us, so having this hope that God will keep me alive until we have fortified ourselves in this country, and you are able to do without me, all that I aim to do here is alike for you and for all who

shall come hither to the same end for which you are come. For I purpose to establish a retreat for the poor faithful who may be persecuted in France, in Spain, and in other countries beyond the sea, in order that without fear, whether of King, or of Emperor, or of other Potentates, they may be able to serve God with a pure heart according to His will."

After this reception the company entered into a small hall in the centre of the island, and sang the 5th Psalm, which in Marot's¹ translation begins: *Aux paroles*, &c., which was followed by a sermon, in which the Minister Richer took for text these verses of the 26th Psalm, called in the Hebrew version the 27th, "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life"; during the exposition whereof Villegagnon ceased not to clasp his hands, to raise his eyes to heaven, to heave sighs, and make other similar gestures, insomuch that all men marvelled at him. After prayers all retired save the new-comers, who dined in the same hall; but it was a Philosopher's dinner, devoid of excess, for their only meats consisted of root-flour, after the savage fashion, of fish boucaned, that is to say roasted, and of some other kinds of roots cooked in the ashes; and for drink (as there is no fresh water on that island) they had water from the drains² of the island, which was collected in a reservoir or cistern, like to those ditches wherein frogs squatter. Certainly it was better than what they had been compelled to drink at sea; but there is no need to be in continual tribulation. One of the chief points of a colony is to have fresh water at command. Thereon depends life, and the preservation of the place colonised, which with this defect cannot sustain a long siege. M. de Monts in these last years established himself in a similar

¹ The Protestant version of Clement Marot (1495-1544).

² De Lery makes it clear that these were not so much drains, as trenches dug to collect the rain-water.

island,¹ and was put to discomfort for water; but on the mainland opposite were beautiful brooks rippling through the woods, where his men went to do the washing and perform other household work. This leads me to say that if a man must needs build on an island and there fortify himself, he had much better do so on the bank of a river, which will always serve as a rampart on one side. For with the mainland free, one can dig it up, and more easily win the products of the country, whether for fortifications or for food.

Another mistake of those who have made so many voyages both to Brazil and to Florida, is that they did not take a large supply of wheat and flour, and salted flesh, whereon to live for one or two years at least, since the King was defraying the full costs of the expedition, instead of crossing the sea to die of hunger, if I may use the expression. This could have been done with great ease, considering the fertility of France in all these things, which she produces at home and does not obtain from others.

M. de Villegagnon then, after this treatment of his new guests, bethought him of setting them to some task, for fear that idleness should stiffen their limbs. He therefore employed them in carrying stones and earth for the common fort, which they had named Coligny. Wherein they had much to endure, for the effects of the sea voyage had not yet worn off,—the poor quarters, the heat of the country, and the scanty food, which consisted chiefly of a daily ration of two cups of hard root-flour, of part of which they made porridge, mixing it with the water from the drains of which we have spoken. Yet their desire to settle in that country and to perform some good work in it made them patiently endure the toil and forget their hardships. The Minister Richer, to encourage them the

¹ See Book IV., chap. iv.

more, even said that they had found a second St. Paul in the person of Villegagnon, and in truth all give him this praise, that they had never heard a man speak better of the Christian religion and reformation than did he. This increased their strength and courage amid the weakness of their surroundings.

CHAPTER VII

FORASMUCH as religion is the bond which keeps nations at peace, and is, as it were, the pivot of the state, in the very first week after the arrival of the French, Villegagnon published an order for the service of God, to the effect that in addition to the public prayers offered every evening on the cessation of work, the Ministers were to preach twice on Sunday, and for an hour every week-day; also expressly declaring that it was his will and intent that without any addition of man's device the Sacraments should be administered according to the pure word of God, and that the discipline of the Church should be put in force against backsliders. In accordance therewith, on Sunday, March 21, they celebrated the Holy Supper according to their rite, after catechising all intending communicants. During the celebration they ordered the sailors and the other Catholics to leave, saying that they were not capable of so great a mystery. And then Villegagnon, kneeling on a square of velvet, with which his page was wont to follow him about, in a loud voice offered up two prayers before them all, which are preserved by Jean de Lery in his *History of Brazil*.¹ At their conclusion, he was the first to present himself at the Holy Table, and on his knees received the bread and wine from the hand of the Minister. Yet some hold that his action was not without hypocrisy; for though both he and a certain Master John Cointa (said to have been a Doctor of the Sorbonne) had publicly abjured the Roman Catholic Church, they made little delay in stirring up disputes

¹ *Histoire d'un Voyage, etc.*, chapter vi. They breathe forth a most evangelical odour, if De Lery has reported them faithfully.

on points of doctrine, especially concerning the Communion. Indeed there is reason to believe that Villegagnon was never other than a Catholic, in that his constant study was the writings of the subtle Scot,¹ to be ready to defend himself against the Calvinists in all the above disputes. But he thought himself compelled to act thus, not being able to make a success of such an enterprise unless he feigned to belong to the so-called reformed faith; while, on the other hand, even had he been willing to remain steadfastly on their side, he was in danger of being accused to the King (who considered him to be a Catholic) by the Catholics who were with him, and of losing a pension of some thousands of livres which His Majesty was paying him. However, always speaking them fair, and protesting that he desired nothing more than to be rightly instructed, he sent the Minister Chartier back to France in one of the ships, which set out on June 4 to return home with a cargo of brazil-wood and other products of the country. He was to bring back the opinion of the Doctors of his sect on the dispute about the Communion. In this ship were carried to France ten young Brazilian lads, of the age of nine or ten or under, who had been captured in war by Savages friendly to the French, and sold as slaves to Villegagnon. The Minister Richer laid his hands on them, and prayers were offered for them before their departure, that it might please God to make them honest men. They were presented to King Henry II., who gave them as gifts to several great Lords of the Court.

Furthermore, on the preceding third day of April were

¹ In all the editions, from 1609 to 1618, the original reads *du subtil l'Escot*. This appears to be a reference to Duns Scotus, the great mediæval theologian, known as *Doctor subtilis*, whose works would certainly be a well-furnished armoury against Calvinism. But to speak of him as l'Escot is so peculiar that I have searched in every dictionary of biography I could find, and consulted the chief living English mediævalists, to see if any one else can be meant. All agree that Scotus, known usually in French as Duns-Scot, is the only, though a somewhat unsatisfactory, explanation. I can find no reference to him in De Lery, from whom the rest of the chapter is drawn.

celebrated the first French marriages ever performed in that country, between two young men-servants of Villegagnon and two of those young girls of whose being brought to Brazil we have already spoken. Among those present at these ceremonies were certain of the Savages, who were utterly amazed to see the dress and decorations of the French women on their marriage day. On the seventeenth of the following May was celebrated in like manner the marriage of Master John Cointa (known as Master Hector) with another of these young girls. The fire once kindled, the two others did not long remain without husbands, and had there been more of them they would soon have fared likewise. For many men of resolution were there who asked for nothing better than to aid in peopling this new country. And to take to wife pagan women was not just, the Old Testament law being rigorous against those who do such a thing, which even under the law of Grace is also forbidden by the Apostle St. Paul, when he says: "Be ye not yoked together with unbelievers"; in which passage, though he is speaking of the profession of faith, yet it can very suitably be applied to marriages. And in the Old Testament it was forbidden to yoke to the plough two animals of different species. It is true that in that country it is easy to turn a pagan woman into a Christian, and such marriages could have been contracted had the French settlement proved lasting and permanent.

This subject of carnal connection with pagan women caused Villegagnon to issue a proclamation, on a report that certain Normans who had many years before been saved from shipwreck, and had become like the Savages, were living in wantonness with their women and girls, and had begotten children upon them. To prevent any of his men committing a like abuse, on the advice of the Council he issued a proclamation forbidding on pain of death any Christian to consort with the Indian women and girls, unless they had been instructed in the knowledge of God and been

baptized. Of this not a single instance occurred in all the voyages of the French to those parts, for this people is so little amenable to the Christian religion, says Jean de Lery, that in three years it was not possible to lay an assured foundation in the heart of one of them. This is not the case in our New France, for whenever, by the grace of God and of His Holy Spirit, such a thing is desired, they will become Christians, and will without difficulty receive the doctrine of salvation. This I say, for I know its truth by my own experience, and have made complaint thereof in my "Adieu to New France."¹

Now, to return to the dispute about the Communion, with the coming of Pentecost arose a fresh debate alike on this subject and on other points. For though Villegagnon had at the beginning declared that his wish was to banish from Religion all human inventions, he now maintained that water must be mixed with the sacramental wine, and insisted on this being done, giving the authority of St. Cyprian and St. Clement; that in the sacrament of baptism salt and oil must be employed as well as water; that a minister was forbidden to remarry; adducing as proof the passage in the Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy: "A bishop must be the husband of one wife." In brief, he made pretence of such beliefs; and ordered public lessons in Theology to be given by Master John Cointa, who took upon himself to interpret the Gospel according to St. John, which contains the most sublime and most abstruse Theology. The fire of division thus lighted in this little band, Villegagnon, without waiting for the decision to be brought by the Minister Chartier, said openly that he had changed his former opinion regarding Calvin,² and considered him a heretic who had erred from the faith. It is said that the Cardinal of Lorraine,³ in certain

¹ This poem is printed in *Les Muses de la nouvelle France*.

² Villegagnon and Calvin had been fellow-students at the Sorbonne.

³ Charles de Guise, Cardinal de Lorraine (1524-74).

letters, had very sharply reprimanded him for having left the Roman Catholic religion, and that this was the cause of his conduct; but as I have already said, he could not really undertake these voyages to Brazil without the support of the Admiral, to obtain which he was compelled to play the part of a Protestant. From that time he began to appear moody, and to swear by the body of St. James (which was his customary oath) that he would break every limb of the first man who angered him. This rude behaviour, and the bad food, brought about a conspiracy against him, but on discovering it he had some of them flung into the sea, and punished the others, among them a certain François la Roche, whom he kept in irons: him he had brought before him, made him lie flat on the ground, and had him beaten on the stomach with rods by one of his creatures, in the Turkish fashion, after which he forced him to go to work. Some, unable to endure this, went off to live among the Savages. Jean de Lery, who has scanty love for the memory of Villegagnon, reports other acts of severity, and remarks that by his clothes (which were of all colours, and which he changed daily) one could tell in the morning whether he would be in good humour or not, and that if one saw yellow or green going about one could predict stormy weather; and especially when he was dressed in a cloak of yellow camlet slashed with black velvet, looking, said some, like his own jester.

At length the French from Geneva, seeing themselves deceived in their expectation, gave him to understand through their Captain, M. du Pont, that his rejection of the Gospel made them free of his service, and that they would do no further work on the Fort. At this the two goblets of root-flour which had been their daily ration were cut off, whereof they took little heed, since for a bill-hook or two or three knives bartered with the Savages they obtained more than he could have given them in half a year. Thus they were well content to be quit of his yoke. This was by no means agreeable to

Villegagnon, who was most fain to master them if he could, as may easily be supposed ; but he was not strong enough. To put this to the proof, some of them obtained leave of absence from Villegagnon's lieutenant and left the island to visit the Savages, where they remained for a fortnight. Villegagnon, feigning to know nothing of the said leave of absence, and therefore pretending that they had broken his orders forbidding all exit from the island without permission, would have put them in irons, but feeling themselves supported by a large number of their comrades who were ill content and wholly at one with them, they told him flatly that they would not endure it ; his refusal to maintain them in the practice and liberty of their Religion absolved them from all obedience to him. This boldness caused Villegagnon to cool down. After this encounter several of the chief men of the colony (of the so-called Reform) were for making an end of the whole matter and flinging him into the sea, to feed the fishes with his flesh and fat shoulders, as they said. But respect for the Lord Admiral (who under the King's orders had sent him there) restrained them. They did not cease to carry on their religious services without him, save that for fear of trouble they celebrated their Communion at night, and unknown to him. At this Communion, as the wine from France was beginning to fail and there was but a glass left, a question arose whether in default of wine it would be lawful to make use of other beverages native to the country. This question was not settled by them, but merely discussed, some saying that they must not change the substance of the Sacrament, and that it would be better to abstain from it than to do so ; others, on the contrary, maintaining that when Jesus Christ instituted the Communion He had employed the customary beverage of the country wherein He was, and that had He been in the land of Brazil He would probably have made use of their root-flour instead of bread, and of their drink instead of wine ; and therefore that in default of our

bread and wine they would have no compunctions in falling back on a substitute. And for my part, when I consider the variety of the world, and that the earth does not produce in every part the same fruits and crops, but that the products of Southern countries are of one sort and those of the Northern of another, the question seems to me no little one, but worthy of treatment by St. Thomas Aquinas. For to restrict the matter so narrowly as to make it unlawful to dispense the Holy Eucharist save under the form of pure wheaten bread, on the pretext that it is written, "He fed them with the finest of the wheat," is harsh indeed; and we must consider that in more than two-thirds of the world our wheat is not used, and yet for lack of it they should not be deprived of the Sacrament if they are worthy to receive it, and have bread made of some other kind of grain. And if one considers with care the above passage from the 81st Psalm he will find that it has no authority in this question, inasmuch as in that place our Lord says to His people that if they had hearkened unto His voice, and walked in His ways, He would have granted to them the benefits spoken of in the said portion of the Psalm, and would have fed them with the finest of the wheat, and satisfied them with honey out of the rock. As for wine, it does not exist beneath the equinoctial line any more than in the North. Some drink water, and others make wine from palms and from the fruit thereof known as cocoa-nuts. In short, the Church, which has power to dispense with many things according to times and places and persons, as she has dispensed laymen from the use of the chalice, and in certain churches from unleavened bread, so could very well grant a dispensation on the above point, which is similar; for she does not wish her children to die of hunger whether they dwell beneath the Pole or in other climes. If any one objects that wine may be carried to distant lands, I reply that various peoples cannot pay the expenses of such a voyage, and that one does not

go to a strange country (especially to the North) for mere pleasure, but for gain. Add to this that Ocean voyages are, if I may so say, still a novelty, and that before the invention of the mariner's compass it was extremely difficult to find the way to such distant lands. But let this be said subject to the correction of those wiser than myself.

Finally, then, Villegagnon, wishing to shake off these so-called Reformed Churchmen, publicly disavowed their doctrine, and told them that he would no longer suffer them in his Fort or on his island, and that they must leave it. This they did (though strong enough to have given him trouble), after a stay of about eight months, and withdrew to the mainland, until a ship of Havre de Grace, which had come thither to load with brazil-wood, was ready to sail. Here for the space of two months they had frequent visits from the neighbouring Savages.

CHAPTER VIII

BEFORE taking our Genevese back to France, now that we have seen their behaviour in Brazil, and that of M. de Villegagnon, it is fitting to satisfy the more curious by giving a somewhat fuller description than has yet been done of the spot wherein they had laid the first foundations of Antarctic France. As regards the manners of the people, the animals, whether four-footed, flying, creeping, or aquatic, the woods, vegetation, and fruits of the country, we shall touch on each in its fitting place in the sixth book, when we speak of the products of our Arctic and Western New France.

We have said that Villegagnon, on reaching Brazil, anchored in the river called by the Savages Ganabara, and by the Portuguese Janeiro, because they discovered it on the first day of January, for which month that is their name. This river is near the twenty-third degree below the equinoctial line,¹ and directly beneath the Tropic of Capricorn. The harbour is excellent and easily defended, as may be seen by the map of it which I have here given,² and extremely spacious, extending inland some twelve leagues, and being in some parts seven or eight leagues in width. Furthermore, it is surrounded on all sides by mountains, so that if the mountains in the vicinity were equally high, it would be not at all unlike the lake of Geneva, lake Leman. The entrance is somewhat difficult, since on the way in one must keep close to three small uninhabited islands, upon which ships, if not well piloted, are in danger of being driven and of making shipwreck. Further on one passes through a narrow

¹ Rio Janeiro lies in 22° 54' 23" S.

² See end of volume.

channel less than an eighth of a league in breadth, and shut in on the left as one enters by a pyramidal mountain and rock, which is not only of very great and wonderful height, but also, when seen from a distance, looks as though carved by hand. Indeed, since it is round and like a large tower, our French called it the Butter-pot. A little further up the river is a rock almost entirely flat, about an hundred or an hundred and twenty paces in circumference, on which Villegagnon on his arrival disembarked his goods and his artillery, and thought to fortify himself there, but the ebb and flow of the tide drove him off. A league further on is the island on which the French settled.¹ It is but a bare half-league in circumference, its length much greater than its breadth, and surrounded by small rocks just below the surface; vessels are thus prevented from approaching nearer than a cannon-shot, which makes it wondrous strong. Indeed, it is impossible, even for small boats, to land upon it, save on the far side from the high sea, where there is a little haven. Now, since this isle rises into a hill at either end, Villegagnon ordered the erection of a small building on each extremity, and also had his own house built on a rock fifty or sixty feet high in the middle of the island. On both sides of this rock the ground was levelled, and thereon was built the hall wherein they assembled for public prayers and for meals, and also the other dwellings, in which our French to the number of about eighty, including the servants of Villegagnon, sheltered themselves. But it must be remembered that with the exception of the house on the rock, in which there is some woodwork, and of some ill-built breastworks on which the artillery was placed, all these dwellings are not palaces, but huts made by the hands of Savages, covered over with shrubs and turf, after their fashion. Such was the state of the Fort in Antarctic France which Villegagnon, to please the Admiral, called Coligny

¹ Still known as Villegagnon Island.

(a name of ill omen, says a certain Historian), from which, after so much expense, trouble, and difficulty, his imprudence allowed him to be driven by the Portuguese, to his own great dishonour and that of the French name. It would be far better to stay at home than to make attempts which later on bring one to derision, especially after having set firm foot in the country which one wishes to colonise. I cannot tell when we shall be firmly resolved in our irresolutions, but in my opinion the name of France and the Majesty of our Kings is made a laughing-stock by this continual talk of New France and of Antarctic France, when all we have is empty name, an imaginary possession in the power of another, and no effort is made to raise ourselves after our fall. God grant better success to the enterprises which are to-day being renewed for the same object, which are truly holy and have no ambition other than the increase of the celestial kingdom. Not that I wish to suggest that the others had a different desire and goal, but one may say that their zeal was not accompanied by knowledge, or by an eagerness adequate to such an undertaking.

On the maps which André Thevet¹ printed on his return from that country, to the left of this harbour of Ganabara, on the mainland, a town is placed which he has named Ville-Henry, in honour of King Henry II. This has been criticised by some,² seeing that there never was a town on this spot. But whether there was or no, I find therein no subject for criticism if one considers the time the French were in possession of that territory, for he did it in order to incite the King to further the undertaking.

To return, then, to the remainder of my description both

¹ A Franciscan Friar, who accompanied Villegagnon as almoner, and was his fervent admirer. His credit has suffered from his mendacity. Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*, pp. 231-242, gives an account of his career. He is the "certain Historian" mentioned above.

² Especially by Jean de Lery.

of the river of Ganabara and of the neighbouring country, though we have already touched upon it in our account of the first voyage, we shall further add that four or five leagues beyond Fort Coligny lies another fair and fertile island, some six leagues in circumference, thickly peopled by Savages named Tououpinambouls,¹ allies of the French. Moreover, there are many other small uninhabited islets, on which are found fine large oysters. Of other fish there is no lack in this harbour or in the river, such as mullets, sharks, rays, porpoises, and others. But the most wonderful sight is to see the horrible and monstrous whales which daily show above the water their great fins like the sails of a windmill, as they sport in the depths of the harbour. They often come so near the island that one can hit them with an arquebuse; which we sometimes did for sport, but they took very little notice of it, or none at all. One of them ran aground some leagues from the harbour in the direction of Cape Frio (which is to the eastward), but no one dared to go near till it was dead, so dreadful was it. For while struggling in the shallow water it made the earth tremble round about, and the wondrous noise thereof was heard more than two leagues away. It was cut up, and both the French and great numbers of the Savages carried off as much as they would, and yet more than two-thirds of it was left. The flesh is of little value, but great quantities of oil are made of the fat. Its tongue was packed in barrels and sent to my Lord the Admiral, as the choicest morsel.

At the head of this harbour are two rivers of fresh water, on which our French often went for a holiday when exploring the country.

Twenty-eight or thirty leagues further on, in the direction

¹ From this name, which is variously spelt, comes the French word *topinambour*, the Jerusalem artichoke. Scarron and Boileau use it as a general term for any uncouth barbarian.

of the river La Plata or the Straits of Magellan, is another great arm of the sea called by the French the Muddy River,¹ in which sailors to these regions find shelter, as they also do at the harbour of Cape Frio, which is on the other side toward the east.

¹ Perhaps the Puerta da Joatinga, or the Rio Grande.

CHAPTER IX

AS Religion is the most solid foundation for a State, including within itself justice, and consequently all the virtues, so we should take all possible care to preserve its uniformity, that there may be no variety in the beliefs held by each man concerning either God or the things which He has ordained. Several by means of Religion, whether true or false, have subdued wild tribes and kept them in concord, whereas when this point came into debate, those who were tainted split into separate bands, to the ruin and desolation of Kingdoms and of States. For there is nothing which touches men so nearly as what concerns the soul and its salvation. And if great societies founded from of old have very often been ruined by such division, what can a small handful of men do whose faith is feeble and unenlightened, and who are barely able to maintain themselves? Certainly they must become a prey to the first assailant, as happened to this little troop of Frenchmen who had crossed over to Brazil, in spite of many difficulties and dangers, and also, as we have already narrated, to those in Florida who fell to quarrelling, though with them the discord did not arise over Religion.

While the French from Geneva were encamped in some huts erected on the mainland of Ganabara, and while a ship was at anchor in the harbour waiting its full cargo, M. de Villegagnon sent to the Genevese a passport written with his own hand, and a letter to the master of the ship in which he bade him (for the sailor did not dare do anything without the consent of the said Villegagnon, who was practically Viceroy in that country) not to refuse to carry them back to France,

so far as he was concerned ; saying that as he had been well content at their coming, thinking that he had found that for which he sought, so also, since they did not agree with him, he was willing they should return. But it is complained that beneath these fine words he had concocted a strange and tragic ending for them, having given to this shipmaster a small box done up in waxed cloth (as is the fashion at sea) full of letters to various persons on this side, among which was also an indictment which he had drawn up against them without their knowledge, with express command to the first judge in France who received it, in virtue thereof to detain them and have them burnt as heretics ; but the issue was otherwise, as we shall relate when we have brought them back to France.

This ship, then, having taken on board her cargo of brazil-wood, Indian pepper, cotton, green-monkeys, squirrel-monkeys, parrots, and other goods, on January 4, 1558, they embarked on their return journey to the number of fifteen, not including the ship's crew. They were not without misgivings, considering the difficulties with which they had met on the voyage out. Some would gladly have resolved to stay there for ever, had it not been for the revolt, as they termed it, of Villegagnon, remembering the lifelong vexations which must be endured on this side of the ocean, while there they found life easy, once the settlement was firmly planted, which was the more assured since had it not been for this division seven or eight hundred persons had resolved to emigrate in that same year in great Flemish hookers, to begin to colonise the neighbourhood of Ganabara ; and fresh migrations would have followed which by now would have infinitely increased, and these emigrants would have planted there the French name under the authority of the King, so that our nation would to-day have easy access thither, and voyages to it would be made daily, as a comfortable retreat for many poor people, who are only too numerous in France, and who, hard pressed here

either by necessity or otherwise, would have gone to cultivate that country rather than to seek a livelihood in Spain (as do many) or elsewhere outside the Kingdom.

Now—to return to our subject—the beginning of this voyage was not free from difficulty; for they were compelled to double the great shallows, that is the mixture of sand and rocks, which run out some thirty leagues to seaward, and are extremely dangerous; and since the wind was unfavourable they spent much time in tacking,¹ but made little headway; and in the meantime a mishap occurred which came near being the death of them all. For about midnight, as the sailors were as usual working the pump to empty the water, which they do at each watch, they could not empty the well. Seeing this, the boatswain went below, and found not only that there was a gaping hole in the bottom of the vessel, but also that she was already so full of water that from her weight she had become unmanageable, and was gradually sinking. I leave the reader to imagine their astonishment; for if, according to the proverb, on a vessel absolutely sound one is within an ace of death, I think these were within half an ace of it. However, when the sailors were worn out, some of the passengers plucked up enough courage to keep two pumps going till noon, emptying out the water; which was as red as blood from the brazil-wood with which it had become coloured. Meanwhile the carpenters and sailors had found the largest leaks, and caulked them so well that when at their last gasp they won a little respite, and spied the land, toward which the ship was headed. After this the carpenters declared that the vessel was too old, and quite worm-eaten, and unfit to return to France; that it would therefore be better to build a new one, or to await the arrival of a ship from France. This was much discussed; however, the master urged that if he returned to shore his sailors would desert, and that he preferred to hazard his life rather than to

¹ To tack means to turn hither and thither. [L.]

lose his vessel and her cargo, and therefore he decided, at whatever risk, to continue his voyage. Since provisions were short, and they foresaw that the voyage was likely to be a long one, five men were put into a small boat and, to their misfortune, sent to land, for they did not live to show a wrinkled skin.

Thus the vessel again put to sea, and passed over the said shallows, not without risk. When our men had made some two hundred leagues from the land they sighted an uninhabited island, round like a tower, about half a league in circumference, very pleasant to behold on account of the trees, which there are green in our coldest season. Many birds flew out of it, and came to rest on the masts of the ship, and allowed themselves to be caught by hand. They were fat to look at, but when plucked were no bigger than sparrows. During the five months the voyage lasted they sighted no other land save this island, and other small ones in the neighbourhood, not marked on the chart.

Toward the end of February, when still only three degrees from the Equator (not the third part of their journey), seeing that their provisions were beginning to fail, they discussed whether to put back to Cape San Roque, which is in Brazil near the fifth degree, there to take on board further supplies; however, the majority thought it better to press on, and in case of necessity to eat the monkeys and parrots which they were carrying. On reaching the said line they had no less difficulty than before, and spent a long time tacking to and fro without being able to overcome this obstacle. Of this I have already given the reason in Chapter IV., wherein I have also stated that the vapours which rise from the sea in the neighbourhood of the Equator, attracted by the air and drawn in spite of themselves into its course, which follows the movement of the *primum mobile*, when they come in contact with the course and movement of the Zone, are compelled by the rebound to return almost in the contrary direction, which is the cause of the rainy winds,

those, that is to say, from the west and south-west : so it was a south-west wind which helped our French out of difficulty, and carried them beyond the equinox, shortly after passing which they began to catch sight of our north star.

Now, as jealousy often exists between the sailors and the masters of ships, so here a quarrel arose between the Pilot and the Boatswain, which came near to being the undoing of them all. For in anger neither one nor other did his duty, and a squall arose by night,¹ which put such pressure on the sails that the vessel almost turned turtle, and the best they could do was to cut the halyards² of the mainsail with all speed ; and in this mishap there fell into the sea and were lost the hawsers, birdcages, and everything else which was not securely lashed.

Some days later they had a fresh scare. A carpenter, seeking in the hull for the leaks by which water kept coming in, stripped off near the keel (now the keel is the backbone of the ship, as is in man and animals the spine, and on it are grafted and arranged the ribs) a piece of wood a foot square, which made an opening by which the water rushed in so abundantly that the sailors aiding the said carpenter rushed on deck absolutely panic-stricken, and unable to say anything save, "We are lost ! we are lost !" At this the Master and the Pilot, seeing the nearness of the danger, ordered a great quantity of brazil-wood to be thrown into the sea, and the hatches which covered the ship, in order to drag out the boat, in which they hoped to save themselves. And fearing it might be overloaded (for every one wished to get in), the Pilot stood in it, sword in hand, declaring that he would cut off the arms of the first man who tried to get in, so that they were forced to resign themselves to death, as some did. However, at last the carpenter, a plucky little fellow, who had not left the leak, plugged the hole with his

¹ The 26th of March. [L.]

² The halyards are the ropes which hold the main-sail in position. [L.]

cloak or sea-capote, staying as well as he could the rush of the water which more than once swept him off his legs, and after they had passed him some cloths and cotton bedding, with the aid of some of these he mended the piece which had been raised, and thus they escaped this danger by the skin of their teeth. But they had still many others to endure, since they were more than a thousand leagues from their desired haven.

After this danger they experienced many contrary winds, the result of which was that the Pilot, not one of the most experienced in his trade, lost his course, and sailed blindly as far as the Tropic of Cancer. During this interval they met a sea so thickly overgrown with vegetation that they were compelled to cut the grasses with an axe, and thinking themselves in a marsh, they cast the lead and found no bottom.¹ Moreover, these grasses had no roots, but were intertwined one with another by long filaments like ground-ivy, with leaves very like those of garden-rue, and a round seed, no bigger than a juniper-berry. In the voyages of Christopher Columbus, it is narrated that on his first voyage for the discovery of the Indies (in the year 1492), some days after passing the Canary Islands he met such quantities of grass that he thought he was in a meadow. This inspired him with fear, although there was really no danger.

¹ The Sargasso Sea.

CHAPTER X

AFTER passing the Tropic, when still more than five hundred leagues from France, they were forced to go on half rations, since their provisions were exhausted by the length of the voyage, due to contrary winds and the lack of good steering. For, as we have said, the ignorant Pilot had lost track of his route; insomuch that when he thought himself in the neighbourhood of Cape Finisterre in Spain, he was only at the height of the Azores, which are more than three hundred leagues distant. The result of this error was that at the end of April, deprived of all provisions, they were forced to sweep out and clean up the storeroom (the name of the place where the supplies of biscuit are kept), in which they found more worms and rat dung than morsels of bread. Nevertheless the sweepings were divided by spoonfuls and made into soup; and soon after the monkeys and parrots were taught new tricks and talk, for they served their masters as food. In short, as early as the beginning of May, when all ordinary provisions had failed, two sailors died of famine-madness, and were buried in the deep. Moreover, during this famine the bad weather continued day and night for the space of three weeks, and they were compelled not only to furl the sails and to lash the rudder, but also during the three weeks that this storm lasted they could not catch a single fish; a piteous case, and sad beyond all others. In brief, there they were, famished to the teeth, as the proverb says, assailed by a pitiless element, both within and without.

When they were now so thin and so enfeebled that they could scarcely stand erect to attend to the sailing of the ship, some bethought them of cutting in strips certain leather washers, which they boiled for food; but as they were not

found satisfactory, some had them roasted after the manner of carbonados; and he was lucky who got a piece of one. To these washers succeeded leather collars, shoes, and lantern horns, which were not spared. And at the same time, for fear of sinking, they were forced to be constantly at the pumps to empty out the water.

In this extremity, on May 12 there died of famine-madness the gunner, whose trade could now be of but scanty use, for even had they fallen in with pirates, they would have surrendered with great pleasure; but no such thing befell; and during the whole voyage they saw but one ship, which they could not approach on account of their excessive weakness.

As long as the leather held out they did not think of making war on the rats, which are usually fine and fat on shipboard; but as the rats too suffered from this famine, and trotted about continually in search of food, the sight of them suggested that they might very well serve as food to any one who could catch them. So every one went a-hunting, and so many snares were set that some were caught. So high was their price that one was sold for four crowns. Another purchaser promised a complete suit from head to foot to any one who would give him a rat. And when the Boatswain had made one ready for cooking, and had cut off and thrown on the deck the four white feet, these were carefully picked up and grilled on the coals, and the eater declared he had never found partridge wings so delicious. But this famine was not confined to meat, but extended to every sort of drink; for neither wine nor fresh water was left. A little cider was all that remained, of which each had but one small glass a day. Finally, they were reduced to gnawing brazil-wood to get some nourishment from it; and as he did so, M. du Pont would gladly have given a full quittance¹ for a debt of four thousand francs in exchange for a pennyworth of bread and a glass of wine. And if even he was in such straits, one can realise that their misery had reached a higher level than tongue and pen

¹ Mr. Biggar thinks that the meaning is "would gladly have given quittance for a portion of a debt," &c. Consult the original.

can express. On May 15 and 16 two more sailors died of this wretched famine, which is well called madness; for as nature fails, as the frame grows gaunt, as mind and senses reel, not only does the character become savage, but such rage is created that a man cannot look on his fellow without evil intent, as was the case with these. And Moses, having knowledge of this, among other chastisements menaces therewith the people of Israel, when they shall come to forget and to despise the law of their God: "So that the man that is tender among you, and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children whom he shall leave: The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter." This famine and misery being so terrible, I have no need to waste time in recalling examples of the sieges of towns, wherein one always finds some nourishment, nor of those of whose deaths we hear while crossing the African deserts, for the tale would never end. This instance alone is sufficient to move the hardest heart to pity. And though these did not reach the point of killing one another, to feed on human flesh, as did those who returned from the first voyage to Florida (as we have seen in the seventh chapter of Book I.), yet their necessity was as great, if not greater, for these latter did not reach the point of dying of hunger, and history does not relate that they gnawed brazil-wood or grilled the horns of lanterns.

Howbeit, at the last God had pity on these poor wretches, and brought them in sight of lower Brittany on the 24th day of May 1558, when they were so reduced that they were lying on the deck unable to move hand or foot. But since they had been more than once deceived by thinking they saw land where there were only clouds, they thought it an illusion, and though the sailor who was at the cross-trees cried out several times, "Land! land!" they could not believe it; but as the

wind was favourable, and the prow pointed directly for the shore, soon after they saw it was true, and gave thanks to God. Thereafter the Master of the ship said openly that certainly if they had remained another twenty-four hours in that state he had purposed and resolved, without further talk, to kill some one, to serve as food for the rest.

When near land they cast anchor, and some went off in a skiff to the nearest village, called Hodierne,¹ to buy provisions. But some of them who had taken the money of their comrades did not return to the ship, and let their boxes and clothes lie, protesting that they would never go back to her, such was their fear of re-entering the land of famine. Meanwhile some fishermen came near the ship, but on being asked for provisions, tried to withdraw, deeming it a jest, and a pretext for doing them violence; but our famishing friends seized on them, and threw themselves so eagerly into their boat that the poor fishermen thought they would one and all be plundered. Yet nothing was taken from them save with full consent, and one scoundrel exacted two reals² for a piece of brown bread not worth a farthing on shore.

Now, when those who had landed returned with bread, wine, and meat, we may well believe that these were not allowed to grow mouldy or sour. Thereafter they weighed anchor to go to La Rochelle; but warned that pirates were hovering along the coast, they made straight for the large, goodly, and spacious haven of Blavet in Brittany, where at that moment were arriving a great number of men-of-war, firing gun after gun, and displaying the customary pomp which accompanies the entrance of victors into a seaport. Spectators were present in great numbers, some of whom made themselves useful by supporting our Brazilians under the arms, since they had no strength to hold themselves up. They were warned to beware of overeating, and to make a gradual use of soups at the beginning, of old hens well

¹ Now Audierne.

² A Spanish coin, varying in value at different dates from five to thirteen cents.

boiled, of goat's milk, and other food suitable to expand their bowels, which, owing to the long fast, were greatly shrunken. This they did, but as for the sailors, who are for the most part a gluttonous and unbridled race, more than half of them died, for they suddenly burst asunder as a penalty for wishing to fill their bellies at the first opportunity. After this famine so great a loathing followed that some abhorred all food, and even wine, with the result that they fell into a decline. Moreover, the majority became swollen from the sole of their foot to the top of their head ; but others only from the waist downward. In addition, all were seized with dysentery, and their stomachs grew so disordered that they could retain nothing. But they were told of a remedy, namely, the juice of ground-ivy and well-cooked rice, which, when taken off the fire, must be allowed to stew in the pot with many old cloths wrapped about it ; then the yolks of eggs must be added and the whole stirred together in an open dish on a retort. When they had eaten this with spoons, in the form of soup, they were, I affirm, suddenly strengthened.

Yet even this was not all, nor the end of their dangers ; for after so many evils undergone, these men, whom the raging waves and the horrors of famine had spared, unwittingly brought with them the instruments of their own death, if the matter had fallen out as Villegagnon desired. We have related in the preceding chapter that this Villegagnon had entrusted to the Master of the ship a box full of letters which he was sending to divers persons, among which was also an indictment which he had drawn up against them without their knowledge, with command to the first judge in France to whom it should be given, in virtue thereof to detain them and to have them burnt as heretics. It befell that as M. du Pont, the leader of the Genevese band, had made the acquaintance of several gentlemen of the law in that district, who were inclined to the religion of Geneva, the box with the letters and the indictment was given over and delivered to them, who, when they had read the letters, so far from doing

them any hurt or injury, on the contrary, made them the best possible cheer, offering money to those in need of it, which was accepted by several, to whom was given as much as they required.

After this they came to Nantes, where, as though their senses had been entirely overthrown, they remained for about a week with such hardness of hearing and dimness of sight that they thought they were becoming deaf and blind. This, in my opinion, was caused by the intaking of new food, the strength of which, as it spread through the veins and channels of the body, drove out the evil vapours, which, seeking an exit by the eyes and ears, and finding none, were compelled to stop there. They were carefully treated by several skilled physicians, who brought to their relief the resources of their art and science, after which they separated each to his several affairs.

As for the five whom we have said were sent back to land on their departure from Brazil, Villegagnon ordered three of them to be drowned as mutineers and heretics; these the Genevese have ranked in the catalogue of their martyrs.

As to Villegagnon, Jean de Lery relates that some time later he abandoned Fort Coligny to return to France, leaving there a small company on guard, who, badly led and weak both in provisions and in numbers, were surprised and cruelly slaughtered by the Portuguese. I venture to think that the behaviour of Villegagnon to those of the so-called Reform brought him into disgrace with my Lord the Admiral, and that receiving no reinforcements or customary relief, he judged that the weather in those parts no longer suited him, and that he had better be going; wherein he would have shown a higher sense of honour had he brought back his little band, since it was quite certain that the Portuguese would leave them scanty repose, and to live in continual apprehension is a continual death. In addition, if a man with authority has trouble enough to enforce obedience, especially in a country where relief is distant, much less will obedience be paid to a Lieu-

tenant, fear of whom is not so deeply rooted in the hearts of subjects as is that of a governor in chief. After these considerations, the extreme ill success of this enterprise is no subject for wonder. But it had scanty chance of permanence, seeing that Villegagnon had no desire to reside in the country. That he had no such desire I gather from his having paid no attention to the cultivation of the soil. This should have been done from the beginning, and since they had an open country, seed should have been sown abundantly, and a supply of grain stored up without waiting its arrival from France. This he could and should have done in the four years or thereabouts that he remained, since his residence was with a view to colonisation. This was the easier, as the land there brings forth at every season of the year. And since he had set himself to interweave dissimulation with his conduct, he should have waited to reveal his purposes till he had laid a good foundation; for therein lies prudence. Not every man is suitable to be the leader of migrations and colonies. He who wishes to be so must be popular and versatile, and not despise any occupation; above all, he must be courteous and affable, and must shun cruelty.¹

¹ Villegagnon was born at Provins in 1510; his parents belonged to the upper ranks of the legal profession. He early joined the order of the Knights of Malta; in 1541 he fought valiantly in the expedition of the Emperor Charles V. against Algiers, and in the next year published a history of this war. In 1548 he was in command of the galleys which carried Mary Stuart from Scotland to France, and, by his skill and daring, foiled the English fleet which was blockading Leith. Soon after he was again serving against the Infidel, and won great credit by his services in Malta against the Turks.

On his return to France after the failure of the attempt to colonise Brazil, he joined the Catholic party in the wars of Religion, and at the siege of Rouen, in 1562, was lamed for life by a shot from an arquebus. Till 1569 he was an unwearied and skilful soldier with tongue, pen, and sword on the Catholic side. After a brief period of repose, he set out in 1571 against the Turks, who had again taken the offensive; but early in 1572 the worn-out veteran died, and was buried at Beauvais.

HISTOIRE
DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE

HISTOIRE DE LA NOUVELLE- FRANCE.

Contenant les navigations, découvertes, & habitations faites par les François es Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle-France, par commission de noz Roys Tres-Chrétiens, & les diverses fortunes d'iceux en l'exécution de ces choses, depuis cent ans jusques à hui.

En quoy est comprise l'histoire Morale, Naturele, & Geographique des provinces cy décrites : avec les Tables & Figures nécessaires.

Par MARC LESCARBOT, Advocat en Parlement,
Témoin oculaire d'une partie des choses ici recitées.

*Troisiesme Edition enrichie de plusieurs choses singulieres,
outre la suite de l'Histoire.*

A PARIS,
CHEZ ADRIAN PERIER, RUE SAINT
JACQUES, AU COMPAS D'OR.
M. DC. XVII.

³¹ *Av Roy Tres-Chrétien de France et de Navarre,*³
LOVYS XIII., Duc de Milan, Comte d'Ast,
Seigneur de Genes

SIRE,

IL y a deux choses principales, qui coutumierement excitent les Roys à faire des conquêtes, le zele de la gloire de Dieu, & l'accroissement de la leur propre. En ce double suiet noz Roys voz predecesseurs ont esté dès y a long temps invités à étendre leur domination outre l'Océan, & y former à peu de frais des Empires nouveaux par des voyes iustes & legitimes. Ils y ont ⁴ fait quelques depenses en divers lieux & saisons. Mais après avoir decouvert le pais on s'est contenté de cela, & le nom François est tombé à mépris, non par faute d'hommes vertueux, qui pouvoient le porter sur les ailes des vents les plus hautains : mais par les menées, artifices, & pratiques des ennemis de vôtre Couronne, qui ont sceu gouverner les esprits de ceux qu'ils ont reconu pouvoir quelque chose à l'avancemēt d'un tel affaire. Cependant l'Espagnol auparavant foible, par nôtre nonchalance s'est rendu puissant en l'Orient & en l'Occident, sans que nous ayons eu cette honorable ambition non de le devancer, mais de le seconder ; non de le seconder, mais de venger les iniures par eux faites à noz François, qui souz l'avœu de noz Roys ont voulu avoir part en l'heritage de ces terres nouvelles & immenses que Dieu a présenté aux hommes de deça depuis ⁴ environ six-vints ans. C'étoit chose digne du feu Roy de glorieuse memoire vôtre pere, SIRE, de reparer ces choses : mais ayant de hauts desseins pour le bien de la republique Chrétienne, il avoit laissé à voz ieunes ans ces exercices, & l'établissement d'un Royaume nouveau au nouveau monde, tandis que par-deça il travailleroit à réunir les diverses religions, & mettre en bonne intelligence les Princes Chrétiens entre eux fort partialisés. Or la jalousie de ses ennemis lui ⁵ ayant envié cette gloire, & à nous un tel bien, on pourroit dire que le fardeau que vous avez pris de l'administration des Royaumes qui vous sont écheuz, vous pese assez, sans rechercher des occupations à plaisir & non necessaires. Mais, SIRE, ie trouve au contraire, que cōme le grand Alexandre commença préque à vôtre âge la conquête du premier Empire du monde ; Ainsi, que les entreprises extraordinaires sont bien-seantes à vôtre Maiesté, laquelle depuis six mois a donné tant de preuves de sa prudence & de son courage, que les cieux en ont esté ravis, & la terre tellement étonnée, qu'il n'y a celui d'entre les hommes qui ne vous admire, ayme, & redoute aujourd'hui, & ne vous iuge capable de regir non ce

¹ The numbers in the inside margin give the pages of the original French edition of 1617. Those in the outside margin refer to the equivalent pages of the translation.

que vous possédés, mais tout l'univers. Cela étant, SIRE, & Dieu vous ayant départi si abondamment ses graces, il les faut reconnoître par quelque action digne d'un Roy tres-Chrétien, qui est de faire des Chrétiens, & amener à la bergerie de Jesus-Christ les peuples d'outre mer qui ne sont encore à aucun Prince assuiétés, ou effacer de noz livres & de la memoire des hommes ce nom de NOUVELLE-FRANCE, duquel en vain nous-nous glorifions. Vous ne manquerez, SIRE, de bons Capitaines sur les lieux, s'il vous plait les ayder & soutenir, & bailler les charges à ceux-là seuls qui veulent habiter le país. Mais, SIRE, il faut vouloir & commander, & ne permettre qu'on revoque ce qui 6
5 aura été vne fois accordé, comme on a fait ci-devant à la ruine d'une si belle entreprise, qui promettoit bien tot l'établissement d'un nouveau Royaume aux terres de dela, & seroit l'œuvre aujourd'hui bien avancé, si l'envie & l'avarice de certaines gens qui ne donneront point vn coup d'épée pour vôtre service, ne l'eût empêché. Le feu sieur de Poutrincourt Gentilhomme d'immortelle memoire bruloit d'un immuable desir de Christianiser (ce qu'il avoit bien commencé) les terres écheuës à son lot : Et à cela il a toujours été traversé, comme aussi son fils aîné, qui habite le país il y a dix ans, n'ayans iamais trouvé que bien peu de support en chose si haute, si Chrétienne, & qui n'appartient qu'à des Hercules Chrétiens. Les sieurs de Monts & de Razilli font même plainte à leur égard. Je laisse les entreprises plus reculées de nôtre memoire és voyages de Jacques Quartier, Villegagnon, & Laudonniere, en Canada, au Bresil, & en la Floride. Quoy donc, SIRE, l'Espagnol se vantera-il que par-tout où le Soleil luit depuis son reveil iusques à son sommeil il a commandement ; Et vous premier Roy de la terre, fils aîné de l'Eglise, ne pourrez pas dire le même ? Quoy ? les anciens Grecs & Romains en leur paganisme auront-ils eu cette louange d'avoir civilisé beaucoup de nations, & chés elles envoyé des grandes colonies à cet effect ; Et nous nais en la conoissance du vray Dieu, 7
& sous vne loy toute de charité, n'aurons pas le zele, non de civiliser seulement, mais d'amener au chemin de salut tant de peuples errans capables de toutes choses bonnes, qui sont au-dela de l'Océan sans Dieu, sans loy, sans religion, vivans en vne pitoyable ignorance ? Quoy, SIRE, noz Roys voz grans ayeuls 6
auront-ils epuisé la France d'hommes & de tresors, & exposé leurs vies à la mort pour conserver la religion aux peuples Orientaux ; Et nous n'aurons pas le même zele à rendre Chrétiens ceux de l'Occident, qui nous donnent volontairement leurs terres, & nous tendent les bras il y a cent ans passez ? Pourrons-nous trouver aucune excuse valable devant le throne de Dieu quand ilz nous accuseront du peu de pitié que nous aurons eu d'eux, & nous attribueront le defect de leur conversion ? Si nous ne scavons l'état auquel ilz sont, nous serions hors de reproche. Mais nous le voyons, nous le touchons, nous le sentons, & n'en avons aucun souci. Si quelques gens nouveaux nous viennent d'Italie ou d'Espagne avec vn habit, ou vn chant nouveau, nous allons au-devant, nous les embrassons, nous les admirons, nous les faisons en vn moment regorger de richesses. Je ne blame point cela, SIRE, puis que les largesses des Roys n'ont autres bornes que leur bon plaisir, & puis qu'en vôtre Royaume chacun est maitre de son bien. Mais à la mienne volonté que l'on fit autant d'état de l'œuvre dont ie parle, 8
œuvre sans pareil, qui devance de bien loin tout ce qui se peut imaginer de pieté entre les exercice des hommes. Vne seule confiscation, vn seul bon benefice, vne seule somme de cent mille écus comptée & nombrée (entre plusieurs) depuis la mort du feu Roy vôtre pere, SIRE, à vne Compagnie qui n'en avoit que faire,

pouvoit fournir à cela, & vous faire commander puissamment dedans la Zone torride, & dehors, à l'Occident. Mais chacun veut tirer à soy, & tant s'en faut qu'on nous remontre cela, qu'au contraire les effects nous font croire que l'on tache par tous moyens d'enerver & faire perdre courage à ceux qui s'employent à des actions si genereuses, sans se prendre garde qu'aujourd'hui il y va de votre Etat en ces affaires ici : Et si nous attendons encore un siecle la France ne sera plus France, mais la proie de l'étranger, qui nous sappe tous les iours, nous debauches vos alliés, & se rend puissant à notre ruine en un monde nouveau qui sera tout à lui. Et pour nous eblouir on demande des tresors tout appareillés en ces terres là, comme si la voye n'étoit point ouverte à votre Maesté pour y entrer d'un Tropique à l'autre quand il lui plaira : Comme si la gloire & force des Roys consistoit en autre chose qu'en la multitude des hommes : Et comme si votre antique France n'avoit pas de beaux tresors en ses blez, vins, bestiaux, 7 toiles, laines, pastel, & autres denrées qui leur sont propres : Qui sont aussi les tresors à esperer de votre NOUVELLE-FRANCE plus voisine de nous, laquelle dès si long temps telle qu'elle est, sustente de ses poissons toute l'Europe tant par mer que par terre, & lui communique ses pelleteries, d'où noz Terre-neuviers & Marchans tirent de bons profits.

SIRE, s'il y a Roy au monde qui puisse & doive dominer sur la mer & sur la terre, c'est vous qui avés des peuples innombrables dont une partie languissent faute d'occupation ; Et n'étoit deux ou trois manieres de gens qui abondent dans votre Royaume, en auriez beaucoup d'avantage, qui ne seroient moins puissans à vous faire redouter aux extremités de la terre, que les vieux Gaullois, qui conquièrent l'Asie & l'Italie, & y occuperent des provinces appellées de leur nom : Et plus recentemente encor noz peres les premiers François, qui possedoient autant delà que deçà le Rhin. Mais qui (outre ce) avés les ports pour l'Orient & l'Occident à votre commandement : Plus les bois pour les vaisseaux ; les vivres, toiles, & cordages pour les fretter, en telle abondance, que vous en fournissés les nations voisines de votre Royaume. Il y a beaucoup d'autres choses à dire sur ce sujet, SIRE, dont ie m'abstiens quant à cette heure pour les représenter à votre Maesté quand elle aura considéré l'importance de ce que dessus, 10 & donnera des témoignages qu'elle veut serieusement attendre à ce qui est du bien de son service, & de la gloire de Dieu és terres de l'Occident. Ainsi Dieu vous vueille inspirer, SIRE : Ainsi Dieu vous ayde & fortifie votre bras pour s'en servir en votre ancien heritage, & domter vos ennemis : Ainsi Dieu nous doint voir bien-tot votre grandeur servie & obeïe par toute la terre : A quoy ie me reputeray glorieux de contribuer tout ce que doit un homme tel que ie suis,

SIRE,

DE VÔTRE MAJESTÉ,

Tres-humble, tres-obeissant, & tres-fidele sujet.

MARC LESCARBOT.

de Vervin.

MONSEIGNEVR MESSIRE PIERRE IEANNIN,
Chevalier, Baron de Montjeu, Chagnj, et Dracj,
Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils d'Estat, & Con-
terolleur general de ses Finances

MONSEIGNEVR,

COMME l'âge de l'homme commence par l'ignorance, & peu à peu l'esprit se formant, par vne studieuse recherche, pratique & experience, acquiert la cognoissance des choses belles & releuées : Ainsi l'âge du monde en son enfance étoit rude, agreste & incivil, ayant peu de conoissance des choses celestes & terrestres, & des sciences que les siecles suivans ont depuis trouvées, & communiquées à la posterité : & y reste encore beaucoup de choses à decouvrir, dont l'âge futur se glorifiera, cōme nous-nous glorifions des choses trouvées de nôtre temps. C'est ainsi que le siecle dernier a trouvé la Zone torride habitable, & la curiosité des hommes a osé chercher & franchir les antipodes que plusieurs anciens n'avoient sceu comprendre. Tout de même en noz jours, le desir de sçavoir a fait decouvrir à noz François des terres & orées mariuimes qui onques n'avoient été veuës des peuples de deçà. Témoins de ceci soient les Souriquois, Etechemins, Armouchiquois, Iroquois, Môtagnais du Saguenay, & ceux qui habitent par-delà le Saut de la grande riviere de Canada, decouverts depuis vn an, au lieu déquels les Hespagnols, & Flamens ont couché sur leurs Tables geographiques des noms inventés à plaisir : & le premier menteur en a tiré plusieurs autres après soy. *Nemo enim (dit Senecue) sibi tantum errat; sed alieni erroris causa & author est, versatque nos & præcipitat traditus per manus error, alienisque perimus exemplis.*¹ Mais rien ne sert de chercher & de decouvrir des païs nouveaux au peril de tant de vies, si on ne tire fruit de cela. Rien ne sert de qualifier vne NOUVELLE-FRANCE, pour estre vn nom en l'air & en peinture seulement. Vous sçavés, Monseigneur, que noz Roys ont fait plusieurs découvertes outre l'Océan depuis cent ans en-ça, sans que la Religion Chrétienne en ait esté avancée, ni qu'aucune utilité leur en soit reussie. La cause en est, que les vns se sont contentez d'avoir veu, les autres d'en ouir parler, & que jamais on n'a embrassé serieusement ces affaires. Or maintenant nous sommes en vn siecle d'autre humeur. Car plusieurs pardeça s'occuperoient volontiers à l'innocente culture de la terre, s'ils auoient

¹ Senec., *De vita beata*, cap. 1.

dequoy s'employer : & d'autres exposeroient volontiers leurs vies pour la conversion des peuples de delà. Mais il y faut au prealable établir la Republique, d'autant que (comme disoit vn bon & ancien Evêque) *Ecclesia est in Republica, non Respublica in Ecclesia*.¹ Il faut donc premierement fonder la republique, si l'on veut faire quelque avancement par-delà (car sans la Republique l'Eglise ne peut être) & y envoyer des colonies Frâçoises pour civiliser les peuples qui y sont, & les rendre Chrétiens par leur doctrine & exemple. Et puis que

14 Dieu, Monseigneur, vous a mis, en lieu eminent sur le grand theatre de la France pour voir & considerer ces choses, & y apporter du secours : Vous qui II
aymez les belles entreprises des voyages & navigations, après tant de services rendus à noz Roys, Faites encore valoir ce talent, & obligez ces peuples errans, mais toute la Chrétienté, à prier Dieu pour vous, & benir vostre Nom eternellement, voire à le graver en tous lieux dans les rochers, les arbres, & les cœurs des hommes : Ce qu'ilz feront, si vous daignés apporter ce qui est de vôtre credit & pouvoir pour chasser l'ignorance arriere d'eux, leur ouvrir le chemin de salut, & faire conoitre les choses belles, tant naturelles que surnaturelles de la terre & des cieux. En quoy ie n'épargneray iamais mon travail, s'il vous plait en cela (comme en toute autre chose) honorer de voz commandemens celui qu'il vous a pleu aymer sans l'avoir veu : C'est,

MONSEIGNEVR,

Vôtre tres-humble & tres-obeissant serviteur,

MARC LESCARBOT.

¹ Optat., Milevit., lib. 3, advers. Parmen.

BEL œil de l'Vnivers, Ancienne nourrice des lettres & des armes, Recours des affligez, Ferme appui de la Religion Chrétienne, Tres-chere Mere, ce seroit vous faire tort que de publier ce mien travail (chose qui vous épointonnera) souz vôtre nom, sans parler à vous, & vous en declarer le sujet. Vos enfans (tres-honorée Mere) noz peres & majeurs ont jadis par plusieurs siecles été les maitres de la mer lors qu'ilz portoient le nom de Gaullois, & voz François n'étoient reputez legitimes si dés la naissance ilz ne sçavoient nager, & comme naturellement marcher sur les eaux. Ils ont avec grande puissance occupé l'Asie. Ils y ont planté leur nom, qui y est encore. Ils en ont fait de même és pais des Lusitaniens & Iberiens en l'Europe. Et aux siecles plus recens, poussez d'un zeile religieux & enflammé de pieté, ils ont encore porté leurs armes & le nom François en l'Orient & au Midi, si bien qu'en ces parties là qui dit François il dit Chrétien : & au rebours, qui dit Chrétien Occidental & Romain, il dit François. Le premier Cæsar Empereur & Dictateur vous donne cette louange d'avoir civilisé & rendu plus humaines & sociables les nations voz voisines, comme les 16 Allemagnes, léuelles aujourd'huy sont remplies de villes, de peuples & de richesses. Bref les grans Evêques & Papes de Rome s'étant mis souz vôtre aile en la persecution, y ont trouvé du repos : & les Empereurs mêmes en affaires difficiles n'ont dedaigné se soubmettre à la justice de vôtre premier 13 Parlemēt. Toutes ces choses sont marques de vôtre grandeur. Mais si és premiers siecles vous avez commandé sur les eaux, si vous avés imposé vôtre nom aux nations éloignées, & si vous avés été zelée pour la Religion Chrétienne, & bref si vous avés apprivoisé les mœurs farouches des peuples rustiques ; il faut aujourd'hui reprendre les vieux errements en ce qui a esté laissé, & dilater les bornes de vôtre pieté, justice, & civilité, en enseignant ces choses aux nations de la Nouvelle-France, puis que l'occasion se presente de ce faire, & que vos enfans reprennent le courage & la devotion de leurs peres. Que diray-ie ici ? (tres-chere Mere) Je crains vous offenser si ie di pour la Verité que c'est chose honteuse aux Princes, Prelats, Seigneurs, & Peuples tres-Chrétiens de souffrir vivre en ignorance, & préque comme bêtes, tant de creatures raisonnables formées à l'image de Dieu, léuelles chacun sçait être és grandes terres Occidentales d'outre l'Ocean. L'Hespagnol s'est montré plus zelé que nous en cela & nous a ravi la palme de la navigation qui nous étoit propre. Il y a eu du profit. Mais pourquoy lui enviera-on ce qu'il a bien acquis ? Il a esté cruel. C'est ce qui souille sa gloire, laquelle autrement seroit digne 17 d'immortalité. Depuis cinq ans le Sieur de Monts, meu d'un beau desir & d'un grand courage, a essayé de commencer vne habitation en la Nouvelle-France, & a continué jusques à present à ses dépens. En quoy faisant lui & ses Lieutenans ont humainemēt traité les peuples de ladite province. Aussi

aiment-ils les François vniuersellement, & ne desirent rien plus que de se conformer à nous en civilité, bonnes mœurs, & religion. Quoy donc, n'aurons nous point de pitié d'eux, qui sont noz semblables? Les lairrons-nous toujours perir à nos yeux, c'est à dire, le sçachans, sans y apporter aucun remede? Il faut, il faut reprendre l'ancien exercice de la marine, & faire vne alliance du Levant avec le Ponant, de la France Orientale avec l'Occidentale, & cōvertir ¹⁴ tant de milliers d'hommes à Dieu avant que la consommation du monde vienne, laquelle s'avance fort, si les conjectures de quelques anciens Chrétiens sont veritables, léquels ont estimé que comme Dieu a fait ce grand Tout en six journées, aussi qu'au bout de six mille ans viendrait le temps de repos, auquel sera le diable enchainé, & ne seduira plus les hommes. Ce qui se rapporte à l'opinion des disciples & sectateurs d'Elie, léquels (selon les Talmudistes) ont tenu que le monde seroit

DEVX MILLE ANS VAGUE,¹
DEVX MILLE ANS LOY,
DEVX MILLE ANS MESSIE,

¹⁸ & que pour nos iniquitez, qui sont grandes, seront diminuées dédites années autant qu'il en sera diminué.

Il vous faut, di-ie (ô chere Mere) faire vne alliance imitant le cours du Soleil, lequel comme il porte chaque jour sa lumiere d'ici en la Nouvelle-France: Ainsi, que continuellement vôtre civilité, vôtre justice, vôtre pieté, bref vôtre lumiere se transporte là-même par vos enfans, léquels d'orenavant par la frequente navigation qu'ilz feront en ces parties Occidentales seront appellés Enfans de la mer, qui sont interpretés Enfans de l'Occidēt, selon la phraze Hebraïque, en la prophetie d'Osée.² Que s'ilz n'y trouvent les thresors d'Atabalippa & d'autres, qui ont affriandé les Hespagnols & iceux attirés aux Indes Occidentales, on n'y sera pourtant pauvre, ains cette province sera digne d'être dite vôtre fille, la transmigration des hommes de courage, l'Academie des arts, & la retraite de ceux de vos enfans qui ne se contenteront de leur fortune: déquels plusieurs faute d'estre employés, vont és pais étrangers, où desja ils ont enseigné les metiers qui vous, estoient anciēnement particuliers. Mais au lieu de ce faire ¹⁵ prenans la route de la Nouvelle-France, ilz ne se debaucheront plus de l'obeissance de leur Prince naturel, & feront des negociations grandes sur les eaux, léquelles negociations sont si propres aux parties du Ponant, qu'és écrits des Prophetes, le mot de negociation, מַסְכָּרָה, se prent aussi pour l'Occident: & l'Occident & la Mer sont volontiers conjoints avec les discours des richesses.

¹⁹ Plusieurs de lache cœur qui s'épouvantent à la veüe des ondes, étonnent les simples gens, disans (comme le Poëte Horace) qu'il vaut mieux contempler de loin la fureur de Neptune.

Neptunum procul è terra spectare furentem,³

& qu'en la Nouvelle-France n'y a nul plaisir. Il n'y a point les violons, les masquarades, les danses, les palais, les villes, & les beaux batimens de France. Mais à telles gens i'ay parlé en plusieurs lieux de mon histoire. Et leur diray d'abondant que ce n'est à eux qu'appartient la gloire d'établir le nom de Dieu

¹ C'est à dire ni Loy, ni Messie.

² Osée II, vers. 10.

³ Horat. Epist. II, lib. I.

parmi des peuples errans qui n'en ont la conoissance : ni de fonder des Republiques Chrétiennes & Françoises en vn monde nouveau : ni de faire aucune chose de vertu, qui puisse servir & donner courage à la posterité. Tels faineans mesurans chacun à leur aune, ne sçachans faire valoir la terre, & n'ayâs aucun zeile de Dieu, trouvent toutes choses grâdes impossibles : & qui les en voudroit croire, jamais on ne feroit rien.

Tacite, parlant de l'Allemagne, disoit d'elle tout de même que ceux-là de la Nouvelle-France : *Qui est (dit-il) celui qui outre le danger d'une mer effroyable & inconuë, voudroit laisser l'Italie, l'Asie, ou l'Afrique, pour l'Allemagne, où est un ciel rigoureux, vne terre informe & triste soit en son aspect, soit en sa culture, si ce n'est à celui qui y est nay ?* Celui-là parloit en Payen, & comme vn homme de qui l'esperance étoit en la jouissance des choses d'ici
 16 bas. Mais le Chrétien marche d'un autre pié & a son but à ce qui regarde l'honneur de Dieu, pour lequel tout exil lui est doux, tout travail lui sont delices, tous perils ne lui sont que jouëts. Pour n'y avoir des violons & autres recrea-
 20 tions en la Nouvelle-France, il n'y a encore lieu de se plaindre : car il est fort aisé d'y en mener.

Mais ceux qui ont accoutumé de voir de beaux chateaux, villes & palais, & se contenter l'esprit de cette veuë, estiment la vie peu agreable parmi des forêts, & vn peuple nud : Pour auxquels repondre ie diray pour certain, que s'il y avoit des villes ja fondées de grande antiquité, il n'y auroit point vn poulce de terre au commandement des François, & d'ailleurs les entrepreneurs de l'affaire n'y voudroient point aller pour batir sur l'edifice d'autrui. D'abondant, qui est celui (s'il n'est bien sot) qui n'aime mieux voir un forêt qui est à lui, qu'un palais où il n'a rien ?

Les timides mettent encore vne difficulté digne d'eux, qui est la crainte des Pyrates : A quoy i'ay répondu au Traité de la Guerre¹ : & diray encore qu'à ceux qui marchent souz l'aile du Tout-puissant, & pour vn tel sujet que cetui ci, voici que dit nôtre Dieu : *Ne craint point, ô vermisseau de Iacob, petit troupeau d'Israël : Je t'aideray, dit le Seigneur, & ton défenseur c'est le saint d'Israël.*²

Et comme les hommes scrupuleux font des difficultez par tout : l'en ay quelque fois veu qui ont mis en doute si on pouvoit justement occuper les terres de la Nouvelle-France, & en depouiller les habitants : auxquels ma reponse a esté en peu de mots, que ces peuples sont semblables à celui duquel est parlé en l'Evangile,³ lequel avoit serré le talent qui lui avoit esté donné dans vn linge, au lieu de le faire profiter, & partant lui fut oté. Et comme ainsi soit que Dieu le
 21 Createur ait donné la terre à l'homme pour la posseder, il est bien certain que le premier tiltre de possession doit appartenir aux enfans qui obeïssent à leur pere
 17 & le reconnoissent, & qui sont comme les ainez de la maison de Dieu, tels que sont les Chrétiens, auxquels appartient le partage de la terre premier qu'aux enfans desobeïssans, qui ont esté chassés de la maison, comme indignes de l'heritage, & de ce qui en depend.

Ie ne voudroy pourtant exterminer ces peuples ici, comme a fait l'Hespagnol ceux des Indes Occidentales, prenant le pretexte des commandemens faits jadis à Iosué, Gedeon, Saul, et autres combattants pour le peuple de Dieu. Car nous sommes en la loy de grace, loy de douceur, de pitié, & de misericorde, en laquelle nôtre Sauveur a dit, *Apprenez de moy que ie suis doux, & humble de cœur :*

¹ Liv. 6, chap. 25.² Esai. 41, vers. 14.³ Luc 19, vers. 21.

Item, *Venés à moy vous tous qui estes travaillés & chargés, et ie vous soulageray*¹: Et ne dit point, Ie vous extermineray. Et puis, ces pauvres peuples Indiens estoient sans defense au pris de ceux qui les ont ruiné: & n'ont pas resisté comme ces peuples déquels la sainte Ecriture fait mention. Et d'ailleurs, que s'il falloit ruiner les peuples de conquête, ce seroit en vain que le même Sauveur auroit dit à ses Apôtres: *Allez vous-en par tout le monde, & prechez l'Evangile à toute creature.*

La terre donc appartenant de droit divin aux enfans de Dieu, il n'est ici question de recevoir le droit des Gents, & politique, par lequel ne seroit loisible d'vsurper la terre d'autrui. Ce qu'étant ainsi, il la faut posséder en conservant ses naturels habitans, & y planter serieusement le nom de Iesus-Christ & le vôtre, puis qu'aujourd'hui plusieurs de vos enfans ont cette resolution immuable de l'habiter, & y conduire leurs propres familles. Les sujets y sont assez grans pour y attirer les hommes de courage & de vertu qui sont aiguillonnez de quelque belle & honorable ambition d'être des premiers courans à l'immortalité par cette action, l'une des plus grandes que les hommes se puissent proposer. Et comme les poissons de la mer salée passent tous les ans par le détroit de Constantinople à la mer du Pont Euxin (qui est la mer Major) pour y frayer, & faire leurs petits, d'autant que là ilz trouvent l'eau plus douce, à-cause de plusieurs rivières qui se déchargent en icelle: Ainsi: (tres-chere Mere) ceux d'entre vos enfans qui voudront quitter cette mer salée pour aller boire les douces eaux du Port Royal en la Nouvelle-France, trouveront là bien-tot (Dieu aydant) une retraite tant agreable, qu'il leur prendra envie d'y aller peupler la province & la remplir de generation.

M. L'ESCARBOT.

¹ Matth, 11, vers. 28 et 29.

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A V L E C T E U R

55

AMI Lecteur, C'est chose humaine que de faillir, & autre que Dieu ne se peut dire parfait, lequel même (ce dit le Proverbe) ne peut aggreer à vn chacun. Partant si tu trouves quelque chose en ce livre qui ne vienne bien à ton sens, ou quelque defect d'elegance ; je te prie supporter le tout par ta prudence, ne m'estimant pas meilleur que l'un des auteurs que l'on met parmi les livres sacrez, lequel à la fin de son œuvre, dit : Que s'il ne s'est assez dignement acquitté de son histoire, il luy faut pardonner¹ : Me soubmettant en toutes choses à la correction des plus sages que moy.

Il y a vne imperfection en nôtre langue, que l'on y couche trop de lettres superflus. C'est pourquoy ie les ay evitées tant que j'ay peu, par vne ortographe non vulgaire.

J'adjouteray pour l'intelligence des Relieurs, que le lieu de la grande Charte géographique des Terres-neuves doit estre entre la page 224 & 225.

La figure de la terre de la Floride reconuë & habitée par les François, en la page 65.

La figure du port de Ganabara au Bresil, entre la page 190 & 191.

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En ladite grand Charte les lettres B.C.G.I.P. signifient Baye, Cap, Golfe, Ile, Port.

Pour les moins sçavans, ie diray que les vents d'Est, Ouest, Nort, & Su, sont les vents d'Orient, Occident, Septentrion, & Midi. Suest, Surouest, Nord'est, Norouest, sont les vents moitoyens. Je laisse les quarts & demi-quarts de vents.

Finalement ie t'avise qu'ès Tables de Chapitres ci-dessus couchées, tu trouveras toute la moelle & substance de cette presente Histoire.

¹ 2. Macchab., à la fin.



L'HISTOIRE DE LA NOVVELLE-FRANCE

CONTENANT LES NAVIGATIONS & DÉCOUVERTES DES FRANÇOIS
 ÉS TERRES NEUVES DE L'OCCIDENT DEPUIS LE TRENTIÈME
 DEGRÉ JUSQUES AU QUARANTIÈME: & LEUR
 HABITATION AU PAÏS DIT AUJOURD'HUI
 LA FLORIDE

Origine de la navigation. Motif des decouvertes qui se sont faites depuis six-vints ans. Voyages de noz François outre l'Ocean. Cause du peu de fruit qu'on y a fait. Fausseté des Tables geographiques. Que le sujet de cette Histoire n'est à mépriser. Qualités loüables des peuples qu'on appelle Sauvages.

CHAPITRE PREMIER

L'AVTHEVR du livre de la Sapience attribué à Salomon¹ dit que la convoitise du gain a meu l'esprit de l'homme à rechercher le moyen d'aller sur les eaux, & bâtir des navires, par léquels on peut traverser la mer, & y marcher comme par vn chemin solide, nonobstant la² profondeur des flots & des abymes. Cette sentence me fait croire vray-semblablement que le saint Patriarche Noé ne fut point le premier invêteur ou fabricant des vaisseaux de mer, n'ayant bati le sien à cette fin: & qu'avant lui les hommes en avoiêt trouvé l'usage. Ce qui ne sera trouvé étrange à qui considerera que le monde peu après sa creation fut grandement peuplé, & y eut incontinent des villes fondées,² & fournies des choses necessaires à la vie humaine, & en outre des métiers de beaucoup plus subtile invêtion que les navires, comme celle des metaux; la recherche, la fonte, le maniment, &²⁸ l'employ d'iceux, & autres choses que l'Ecriture ne nous dit point, s'étant contentée de nous indiquer cela pour nous faire presumer le reste: sans parler des inventions de musique & instrumens musicaux, comme orgues, harpes, & autres, qui demontrent des Republics pleines de magnificence plusieurs siecles avant Noé: non moins qu'un peu après le deluge, & luy vivant encore, voila sur pied cette grande & superbe ville de Babylone miracle du monde, qui n'eut jamais sa semblable, au moins quant à ses murs & defenses. Dés ce temps on traffiquoit par mer, & y avoit des villes le long de ses rives, côme nous en voyons des remarques & argumens en l'Histoire sacrée,³ là où il est écrit que le

¹ Sap. 14.² Genes. 4.
227³ Genes. 49.

saint Patriarche Jacob dit à son fils Zabulon que son partage seroit au long de la mer près le port des navires.

La même convoitise a été l'aiguillon qui depuis six-vints ans a poussé les Portugais, Hespagnols, & autres peuples de l'Europe à se hasarder sur l'Océan, 3 chercher des nouveaux môdes deçà & delà l'Equateur, & en vn mot environner la terre; laquelle aujourd'huy se trouve toute reconuë par l'obstinée & infatigable avidité de l'homme, excepté quelques cotes antarctiques, & quelques-vnes à l'Occident outre l'Amerique, léquelles ont été negligées, parce qu'il n'y avoit rien à butiner.

Parmy tant de decouvertes noz Roys se sont aussi mis aux champs, mais d'une autre façon, & à vne autre fin que noz voisins meridionaux. Car ie voy par leurs Commissions qu'ils ne respirêt que l'avancement de la Religion Chrétienne, sans aucun profit present : & ne voy en aucun écrit qu'en l'execution de leurs entreprises ils ayent, côme eux, cruellement depeuplé les provinces qu'ils ont voulu faire habiter, ayans plus estimé la conversion des ames à Dieu, & la loüange d'humanité, que la possession de la terre.

A cette fin nôtre Roy François premier entre les difficultez de ses affaires 29 fit la premiere expedition outre mer en l'an mille cinq cens vint, envoyant le Capitaine Jehan Verazzan Florentin decouvrir des terres neuves qui ne fussent occupées d'aucun Prince Chrétien, en intention de les faire habiter, s'il en avoit bon rapport. Ce que fit ledit Verazzan, & cotoya toute la terre depuis appelée la Floride, & celle qui a pris le nom de Virginie, jusques au quarantième degré, dont il fit sa relation, ainsi que nous dirons ci-apres. Es années cinq cens trente-trois & trente-quatre le Capitaine Jacques Quartier de Saint Malo fut envoyé par le même Roy à la decouverte de la terre neuve des Moruës, & du fleuve de Canada 4 par luy dit Hochelaga. Et six ans apres Jean François de la Roque sieur de Roberval, Gentil-homme Picard, prit commission avec ledit Quartier pour aller peupler ladite terre.

Au regne du Roy Henry second és années mille cinq cens cinquante-cinq & cinquante-six furent faits nouveaux embarquemens pour l'habitation de la terre du Bresil souz la conduite de Nicolas Durant, dit le Chevalier de Villegagnon. Et souz le Roy Charles IX. és années soixante-deux & soixante-quatre furent faits les voyages pour l'habitation de la terre qu'avoit decouverte Jean Verazzan, déquels voyages furent conducteurs le Capitaine Jehan Ribaut, & le sieur de Laudôniere Gentil-hôme Poitevin.

Que si le saint desir de ces bons Roys n'a reüssi comme il seroit à desirer, il en faut attribuer le defect partie à nous-mêmes, qui sommes en trop bonne terre pour nous en éloigner, & nous donner de la peine pour les commoditez de la vie, apres que la longueur de plusieurs centaines d'années nous a (faute d'exercice) affaïneantis : partie aux guerres externes & civiles qui ont continuellement surfaissé la France, & retenu noz François dans leurs bornes, soit au 30 divisions, & nous liguoit les vns contre les autres, pour à nôtre ruine établir sa grandeur.

En ces derniers temps la France commençant à respirer par la valeur incom- 5 parable de nôtre grand Henri, quelques-vns se sont efforcés de reprendre les erremens delaissez, sçavoir les sieurs Marquis de la Roche Gentil-hôme Breton, de Monts Gentil-homme Xaintongeois, & de Pourtincourt Gentil-homme Picard. De tous léquels ie parleray chacun en son ordre, selon ce que

i'ay veu, oûi dire à eux-mêmes, ou trouvé par les écrits de ceux qui ont fait les premiers voyages, l'histoire déquels m'a été d'autant plus difficile, que la memoire en étoit ja perduë: De sorte que i'ay été contraint de la rechercher partie en la bibliotheque du Roy, partie dans les papiers moisés des Libraires, m'étant quelquefois servi, au regard des derniers temps, de ce que Samuel Champlain en a donné au public.

Et comme on dit de certains poissons consacrés à Venus, qui naissent de l'écume de la mer, que pour se garentir de l'injure & gourmandise des plus grans, ilz s'assemblent par milliers, & s'entrelacent en tant de pelotons, qu'ils se rendent assez forts pour se defendre: Ainsi m'a semblé bon de mettre en vn corps tant de relations & menus écrits qui étoient comme ensevelis, afin de les faire revivre, & par cet assemblage m'essayer de leur donner vne meilleure trempe contre la lime sourde du temps qui tout consomme: Et ce tant pour contenter l'honnête desir de plusieurs qui dés long temps requierent cela de moy, ⁶ que pour employer vilement les heures que ie puis avoir de loisir durant cette saison des vacations en l'an mille six cens huit.

Or d'autant qu'en cette histoire est souvent fait mentiõ de plusieurs lieux auxquels noz François ont imposé les noms, léquels toutefois ceux qui impriment les Tables geographiques ont jusques ici ingratement supprimé, mettās en écrit ³¹ des noms autant imaginaires que la delineation qu'ils ont fait de nôtre Nouvelle Frāce est fausse: L'ay voulu particulièrement tirer à la plume, & représenter au vray selon les Tables particulieres de noz mariniars, & mêmes dudit Champlain (car ie n'ay pas tout veu) le sit de la premiere terre, pour montrer que les Hespagnols, ny autres avāt nous, ne l'ont iamais veuë, & qu'ils ont donné des bourdes au peuple lors principalement qu'ils ont feint vne grande riviere au-deçà des Armouchiquois, & sur icelle vne ville grande & puissante qu'ils ont nommée (ie ne sçay, ny eux-mêmes, à quel sujet) Norombegue, laquelle ils ont située par les quarante-cinq degrés: dequoy nous parlerons plus amplement en son lieu. ¹

Et jajoit que mon sujet semble bas, n'étant ici traité d'un Royaume rempli de belles villes & beaux palais, enrichi de lōgue main de beaucoup d'ornemens domestics & publics, formillant en peuples instruits en toutes sortes d'arts liberaux & mecaniques: & en vn mot, n'ayant ici à discourir sur les sept merveilles du monde: Toutefois tel qu'il est, i'espere que les Sages lui donneront sauf-conduit, ⁷ si l'on considere que ce grand vaisseau de sapience Salomon n'avoit dédaigné de traiter en son Histoire naturele, des moindre choses d'ici bas ² depuis le Cedre qui est au Liban jusques à l'Hyssope qui sort de la paroy: des bestes, des oyseaux, des reptiles, & des poissons. Et quand ce ne seroit en consideration de l'humanité, & que ces peuples déquels nous avōs à parler sont hommes comme nous, nous avōs dequoy estre incités au desir d'entendre leurs façons de vivre & mœurs, veu mémemēt que nous recevons souvent avec beaucoup d'applaudissemēt les histoires & rapports des choses qui ne sont si étranges, ny tant éloignées de nous: afin que par la consideration de leur déplorable état & condition (car ilz vivēt nuds, vagabons, sans police, loy, ny religion) nous venions à remercier Dieu de ³² ce qu'il nous a gratifié par-dessus eux, & dire avec le Prophete Roy son bien-aymé:

“ A Jacob il donne pour guide
Son verbe & ses enseignemens,
Et à la race Israëlide
Ses statuts & ses jugemens.

¹ Liv. 4, ch. 7.

² 3. des Roys 4, vers. 33

Il n'a fait ainsi pour le reste,
Des peuples de tout l'univers,
Leur rendant sa loy manifeste
Et ses jugemens decouvers." ¹

Car outre la vie civile à laquelle nous sommes nés, il nous a par sa grace illuminé de son saint Esprit, & fait voir les secrets de sa haute sagesse, afin que le reconnoissions, & l'adorions, & obtenions salut par son fils Jesus-Christ nôtre mediateur & sauveur, qui est en vn mot toute la vie de l'hôme, & la fin à laquelle nous devons aspirer.

Ainsi nous ne sçaurions moins faire que ce Philosophe Payen, lequel remercioit ses Dieux entre autres choses, de ce qu'il étoit né à Athenes plutôt qu'ailleurs, d'autant que là étoit le domicile de toute bonne instruction, civilité, & police ; le siege des sciences & des bonnes loix.

Et neantmoins ie ne veux tellemēt deprimer la cōdition des peuples que nous avons à représenter, que ie n'avouē qu'il y a beaucoup de choses bonnes en eux. Car pour dire brievement, ils ont de la valeur, fidelité, liberalité, & humanité, & leur est l'hospitalité si naturele & recōmandable, qu'ilz reçoivent avec eux tout homme qui ne leur est ennemi. Ilz ne sont point niais comme plusieurs de deça, ilz parlent avec beaucoup de jugement & de raison : & s'ils ont à entreprendre quelque chose d'importance, le Capitaine sera attentivement écouté, haranguant vne, deux, & trois heures, & lui répondra-on de point en point, selon que la matiere le requerra. De sorte que si nous les appellons ³³ communement sauvages, c'est par vn mot abusif, & qu'ilz ne meritēt pas, n'étans rien moins que cela, ainsi qu'il se verifera par le discours de cette histoire.

Vne chose leur a manqué jusques ici, qui a causé, & cause encor leur nudité, c'est de n'avoir eu l'vsage du fer, sans lequel toutes nos œuvres manuelles cessent : Et croy que ne serions beaucoup plus relevez qu'eux, si nous eussions été dépourvus de cette admirable invention, laquelle nous devons à Tubal-Cain specialement celebré au commencement de l'histoire sacrée de la naissance du monde

¹ Psal. 147, vers. 9.

9 *Du nom Gaullois. Refutation des Auteurs Grecs sur ce sujet. Noé premier Gaullois. Les Gaullois peres des Vmbres en Italie. Bodin refuté. Conquetes & navigations des anciens Gaullois. Loix marines, justice & victoires des Marseillois. Portugal. Navire de Paris. Navigations des anciens François. Refroidissement en la navigation d'où est venu. Lacheté de nôtre siecle. Richesses des Terres-neuves.*

CHAP. II

34

PLVSIEVRS anciens ayans voulu discourir de l'origine du nom Gaullois, se sont escrimés en tenebres, & n'ont point touché au but, soit ou faute de sçavoir l'histoire de la creation du monde, ou d'entendre les langues des vieux siecles (auquelles il faut rapporter l'imposition des noms les plus anciens) ou d'avoir des vrais memoires des premiers Gaullois. Ce qu'aussi n'eussent-ils peu, d'autant que toute la Theologie, & Philosophie d'iceux Gaullois consistoit en traditive & sans écriture, de laquelle ilz n'usoient qu'és choses privées, ce dit Cesar. Or ici nous n'avons affaire qu'aux Latins & Grecs, qui seuls ont traité de nôtre antiquité. Quant aux Latins, iceux ne voyans apparence de deriver nôtre nom d'un Coq, signifié par le mot *Gallus* en leur langue, ilz n'en ont voulu rien dire. Mais les Grecs plus hardis, léquels ont brouillé les origines de toutes choses, & icelles remplies de fables, ont écrit
 10 qu'un Roy des Gaullois nommé *Celtes*, & par honneur Iupiter, eut vne fille dite Galathée, laquelle dedaignoit tous les Princes de son temps, jusques à ce qu'ayant oùi les vertus nompareilles du grand Hercule de Lybie, fils d'Osiris, qui guerroyoit les tyrans de la terre, comme il passoit par le país des Celtes pour aller d'Hespagne en Italie, elle en devint amoureuse, & par la permission de ses parens eut de luy vn enfant, qui fut nommé *Galates*, lequel
 35 surpassa tous les Princes de son âge en force de corps, & grandeur de courage : & ayât conquis beaucoup de provinces par armes, changea le nom des Celtes que son pere avoit donné, & nomma ses sujets Galates. D'autres ont pensé qu'ils avoient esté ainsi appelez du mot Grec Γάλα, qui signifie Laict, pource que le peuple Gaullois est blanc & de couleur de laict. Or ces derivations sont absurdes : Car pour ce qui est de la couleur blanche, il y avoit plus de raison d'appeller ainsi ceux de la grande Bretagne, ou les bas Allemans. Et puis c'est folie d'estimer que nous ayons pris nôtre appellation des Grecs, déquels au contraire vne partie est appelée de nôtre nom. Pour le regard du mot de Galates, c'est vne invention de la même forge. Car ie ne voy que contrariété en tous ceux qui en ont parlé. Pausanias en ses Attiques dit, que le nom de Galates n'est venu que sur le tard, & que de grande antiquité les Gaullois auparavant s'appelloient Celtes. Et toutefois *Galates*, selon Beroze, a esté Roy des Gaullois immediatement apres *Celtes*. Strabon au contraire, dit, que tous les Galates ont esté appelez Celtes par les Grecs, à cause du noble estoc de ceux de la province Narbonoise, où il donne à entendre qu'ils estoient Galates devât qu'être

Celtes. Appian tient que les Celtes viennent d'un *Celtes*, fils de *Polyphemus*, qui fut fils de Neptune : ce qui ne se peut accorder avec ce que dit Bérose, que *Jupiter Celtes* fut le neuvième Roy des Gaullois, plusieurs siècles après Neptune.

Mais ie voudroy demander pourquoy les Grecs, pour suivre leurs fantasies, ont changé le nom de Gaullois en Galates, ce que n'ont fait les Romains plus retenus & plus sobres à broüiller l'antiquité. Je croy qu'ils ont eu crainte de se
36 rendre ridicules en les appellant Gaullois par une (il) double, d'autant que *Γάλλος* en leur langue signifie *Chatré* : & ils voyoient les Gaulles formiller en generation. Et de là ont pris sujet d'imposer le nom de Galates aux Gaullois, à cause du Roy *Galates*. Et neantmoins Strabon, non autrement scrupuleux, les appelle indifféremment Gaullois & Galates, & ceux de l'Asie Gallo-grecs.

N'y ayant donc point d'apparence à ce nom de Galates, il est meilleur de nous arreter à l'appellation de noz plus proches voisins les Romains, qui nous cognoissent mieux, déquels saint Gregoire disoit que *Comme ilz n'ont les pointes & subtilitez des Grecs, aussi n'en ont-ilz les heresies* : Ilz ne sont si grands brouillons & menteurs. Et pour le nom Gaullois, nous avons l'autorité de Xenophon, lequel en ses *Æquivoques* dict, que le premier *Ogyges* (qui fut Noé) fut surnommé *Le Gaullois*, pource qu'au Deluge du monde s'étant garenti des eaux,
12 il en garentit aussi la race des hommes, & repeupla la terre : De là vient (dit-il) que les sages¹ (qui sont peuples de la Scythie Asiatique, c'est à dire de l'Arménie, où l'Arche de Noé s'arreta) appellent un vaisseau de mer *Gallerim*, pource qu'il garentit du naufrage. Et de ce mot nous avons retenu les noms de Gallere & Gallote, qui ne viennent pas de *Galerus*, comme a voulu dire Erasme.² Caton au proème de ses Origines, & autres Auteurs, s'accordent à ce
37 que dessus, disans que Ianus (qui est Noé) vint de Scythie en Italie avec les Gaullois peres des Vmbres (peuples aujourd'huy tenans le Duché de Spolette) ainsi appelez d'un autre nom que leurs peres, mais revenant à même signification. Car en langue Hebraïque & Aramée *Gallim* signifie Flot, Eau, Inondation : & en langue antique Latine *Vmber*, ou *Imber*, signifie Eau & Pluie.

Je sçay que Bodin n'approuve point ceci, & se mocque de Rabbi Samuel, qui est de même opiniõ que nous. Mais ie trouve sa raisõ biẽ plus ridicule de dire que comme les anciens Gaullois étoient vagabons, ne sçachans où ils alloient, ilz commencerent à murmurer par ces mots, *Où allons-nous ?* & que de là est venu le mot de Vvallon, ou Gallon par une transposition de lettre.

Arrêtons-nous donc à nôtre premier avis, & disons avec le même Xenophon, que Noé repeuplant le monde amena une troupe de familles pardeça, lesquelles aimans la navigation, trouverent bon de s'appeler du nom attribué à ce grand Ogyges (c'est à dire Illustre & Sacré), & semblablement à Comerus Gallus
13 (lequel en l'histoire sainte est appelé Gomer³) premier Roy des Gaullois, selon Jacques de Bergome en son Supplement des Chroniques : quoy que Bérose le face Roy d'Italie, à quoy ie ne me puis accorder, puis qu'elle n'en a retenu le nom.

Ainsi ayans beaucoup multiplié (comme la nation Gaulloise est féconde) ilz se rendirent maîtres de la mer dès les premiers siècles après le Deluge : & devant les guerres de Troye le grand Capitaine Cambaules ravagea toute la Grece & l'Asie, comme le confesse Pausanias en ses Phociques, & ailleurs. Long temps depuis, les Gaullois, affriandez au butin, firent trois armées, dont Brennus (l'un

¹ De ces peuples Sages peuvẽt être venus noz Tolosains dits Tectosages.

² Erasme en l'Adage, *Navis aut Galeris*.

³ Genes. 10, vers. 4.

des chefs), avoit cēt cinquante-deux mille pietons, & vingt mille quatre cens maitres de cheval à sa part, chacun déquels avoit deux chevaux de relais, & 38 nombre de Solduriers souz lui, cotoyant toute l'Asie par mer aussi bien que par terre. Strabon¹ fait mention d'autres grandes conquêtes des Tectosages, Tolistobogiens, & Trocmiens, peuples Gaullois, léquels occuperent la Bythinie, Phrygie, Cappadoce & Paphlagonie, sous vn nommé Leonorius, lequel y institua douze Tetrarches semblables à noz douze Pairs de France. Et de ces conquêtes parle aussi Plin², lequel dit qu'ils avoient cent nonante-cinq villes & principautés.

Au reste ils avoient leurs loix marines si bien ordonnées, que les nations 14 étrangères se conformoient volontiers à icelles, comme faisoïent les Rhodiens, au recit de Strabon, léquels avoient emprunté de noz Marseillois les loix marines dont ils vsoient. Ce qu'ils avoient fait d'autant plus volontiers qu'ilz les voyoient se gouverner avec Iustice, & ne souffrir aucuns pyrates sur la mer, ayās (dit le même Strabon) de grans magazins bien fournis de toutes choses nécessaires à la marine, & pour battre les villes, ensemble infinies dépouilles des victoires par eux obtenues durant plusieurs siecles contre les pyrates susdits. Et Iules Cesar parlant de la ciuilité des Gaullois, & de leur façon de vivre, laquelle ils ont enseignée aux Allemans, dit que la cognoissance des choses d'outre mer leur apporte beaucoup d'abondāce & de commoditez pour l'usage de la vie.

Et ne faut penser que cette ardeur de naviger ait esté enclose dans la mer du Levant. Car le pais de Portugal portant le nom de Port des Gaullois, témoigne assez qu'ils ont aussi couru sur l'Océan. En memoire dequoy la principale ville du Royaume des Gaullois porte encore aujourd'hui la Navire pour sa marque. Voire ie pourray bien encore ici mentionner la pointe d'Angleterre, qui s'appelle 39 *Cornu Gallie*, Cornuaille. Ce qui ne peut provenir que des navigations des Gaullois.

Mais comme par la vicissitude des choses tout se change icy bas, & les siecles ont ie ne sçay quelle nécessité (pour n'user du mot de fatalité) née avec eux de suivre le gouvernement des astres instrumens de la providence de Dieu: les 15 Gaullois ont quelquefois par occasion laissé refroidir cette ardeur de voguer sur les eaux, comme lors que les Romains semerent la division entre-eux, & s'emparerent par ce moyen de leur Etat: & depuis quand les François, Gots & autres nations déchirerent ce grand Empire ja cassé de vieillesse, & tout remply d'humeurs vicieuses, & corrompues de longue main. Mais par après aussi selon les occurrēces, ils ont repris leurs premiers & anciens erremens, comme lors qu'on a publié les Croisades pour le recouvrement de la terre sainte; environ lequel tēps, sçauoir en l'an mille deux cens quatre-vints, pour éviter la peine de creer tous les jours des Admiraux extraordinaires, & par commission, pour envoyer sur la mer, & conduire l'armée François en l'Orient, fut l'Admirauté de France erigée en tiltre d'office par le Roy Philippe surnommé le Hardi, fils de saint Louis, & deferée au Sire Enguerran de Couci, troisieme du nom en cette famille, premier Admiral de France en la qualité que j'ay dit.

Or comme vn malade pressé de la douleur qui le violente oublie aisément les exercices auxquels il souloit s'occuper estant en pleine santé; Ainsi les François par-après occupez sur la defensive aux longues guerres qu'ils ont eues contre les Anglois dedans leurs propres entrailles & au milieu de la France, ils ont laissé

¹ Liv. 4 & 12.

² Liv. 5, chap. 32.

derechef alentir cette ancienne ardeur en la navigation, qui ne s'est pas aysément r'échauffée depuis, n'étant à peine la France relevée de maladie, que voicy
 40 naitre d'autres guerres par la gloutonne ambition d'un Prince, sujet de nôtre Roy, 16
 lequel ne se promettoit riens moins que de luy enlever la corone de dessus la tête, comme nous témoignent assés amplement nos histoires. Quoy que ce soit, il en a tiré de bonnes pieces, léquelles jaçoit qu'elles se puissent justement debattre, toutefois ce ne seroit sans beaucoup de difficultez. Et depuis ce temps les differens pour la Religion, & les troubles étans survenus, noz François parmy ces longues alarmes ont esté tellement occupez, qu'en vne division vniverselle il a esté bien difficile de viser au dehors, faisant vn chacun beaucoup de conserver ce qui luy étoit acquis, & vivre chez soy-même.

Neantmoins parmy toutes ces choses, noz Roys n'ont laissé de faire des découvertes avec beaucoup de depense en diverses contrées, & en divers temps, comme a esté veu au chapitre precedent : Et eussent fait davantage s'ils eussent en prés d'eux des hommes amateurs de la navigation, ou si nos Admiraux se fussent pleu à la marine, ou n'eussent esté empechés ailleurs & embrouillés en noz guerres civiles : Car encores que les Roys bien souvent ne soient que trop poussez d'ambition pour commander à toute la terre, & à des nouveaux mondes, s'il étoit possible, d'autant que (comme dit le Sage) *La gloire & dignité des Rois git en la multitude du peuple* :¹ si ont-ils besoin de gens qui les secondent, voire qui les enflamment à vn beau sujet, où principalement il y a apparence de faire chose qui peut reüssir à la gloire de Dieu, & n'y va point 17
 du detrimant d'autrui. Et en cela nôtre siecle est en pire condition que les precedens, d'autant que combien que par la grace de Dieu nous jouissions d'une bonne paix, que le Roy soit redouté, & ait des moyens autant que pas vn de ses predecesseurs, que l'établissement d'un Royaume Chretien & François soit facile és regions Occidentales d'outre-mer, & qu'il y ait des hommes immuables en cette resolution d'habiter la Nouvelle France, d'où ils ont rapporté les fruicts de leur culture, comme sera dit en son lieu : neätmoins il ne se trouve quasi personne
 41 (j'enten de ceux qui ont credit en Cour) qui favorise ce dessein, soit en privé, soit envers sa Majesté. On est bien aise d'en ouïr parler, mais d'y aider, on ne s'entend point à cela. On voudroit trouver les thresors d'Atabalippa sans travail & sans peine, mais on y vient trop tard, & pour en trouver il faut chercher, il faut faire de la dépense, ce que les grans ne veulent pas. Les demandes ordinaires que l'on nous fait, sont : Y a-il des thresors, y a-il des mines d'or & d'argent ? & personne ne demande, Ce peuple là est-il disposé à entendre la doctrine Chrétienne ? Et quant aux mines il y en a vrayment, mais il les faut fouiller avec industrie, labeur, & patience. La plus belle mine que je sçache c'est du blé & du vin, avec la nourriture du bestial. Qui a de ceci, il a de l'argent. Et de mines nous n'en vivons point, quant à leur substâce. Et tel bien-souvent a belle mine qui n'a pas bon jeu.

Au surplus, les mariniers qui vont de toute l'Europe chercher du poisson aux Terres-neuves, & plus outre, à mille lieüs loin de leur país, y trouvent des 18
 belles mines sans rompre les rochers, éventer la terre, vivre en l'obscurité des enfers (car ainsi faut-il appeller les minieres, où l'on condamnoit anciennement ceux qui meritoient la mort) ils y trouvent, di-je, de belles mines au profond des eaux, & au trafic des pelleteries & fourrures d'Ellans, de Castors, de Loutres, de Martres, & autres animaux, dont ilz retirent de bon argent au

¹ Prov. 14.

retour de leurs voyages, auxquels ils ne se plairoient tant s'ilz n'y sentoiēt vn ample profit. Ceci soit dit en passant pour ce qui regarde la Terre-neuve, laquelle jaçoit qu'elle soit peu habitée, & en vn climat assez froid, neantmoins est recherchée d'un grand nombre de peuple qui lui va tous les ans rendre hommage de plus loin qu'on ne fait les plus grans Roys du monde, léquels on caresse & honore bien souvēt plus pource qu'ilz sont riches & peuvent enrichir les autres, que par devoir. Ainsi en fait-on à cette terre : de laquelle si on retire tant d'utilité, il faut estimer que celles qui sont en plus haute élévation de soleil sont beaucoup plus à priser & estimer, d'autant qu'avec l'abondance de la mer elles ⁴² ont ce que l'on peut esperer de leur culture, sans qu'il soit besoin de se travailler pour des mines d'or & d'argent, déquelles nôtre France Orientale se passe bien, & ne laisse d'être aussi florissante que les païs dont elle est environnée. Dequoy nous parlerons plus amplement ci-après, selon que le sujet se presentera.

*Conjectures sur le peuplement des Indes Occidentales, & conséquemment de la 19
Nouvelle France comprise sous icelles.*

CHAP. III

IE sçay que plusieurs, étonnez de la decouverte des terres de ce monde nouveau que l'on appelle Indes Occidentales, ont exercé leur esprit à rechercher le moyen, par lequel elles ont peu être peuplées apres le Deluge : ce qui est d'autant plus difficile, que d'un pole à l'autre, ce monde là est separé de cetui-cy d'une mer si large, que les hommes ne l'ont jamais (ce semble) ni peu, ni osé traverser jusques à ces derniers siecles, pour découvrir nouvelles terres : du moins n'en est il aucune mention en tous les livres & memoires qui nous ont esté laissez par l'Antiquité. Les vns se sont servi de quelques propheties & revelations de l'Ecriture sainte¹ tirées par les cheveux, pour dire les vns que les Hespagnols, les autres que les Iuifs devoient habiter ce nouveau monde. D'autres ont pensé que c'étoit une race de Cham portée là par punition de Dieu, lors que Iosué commença d'entrer en la terre de Chanaan, & en prendre possession, l'Ecriture sainte témoignant que les peuples qui y habitoient furent tellement épouvantez, que le cœur leur faillit à tous : & ainsi pourroit estre avenu que les majeurs & ancestres des Ameriquains & autres de 20 delà, chassés par les enfans d'Israël de quelques contrées de ces païs de Chanaan, s'estans mis dans des vaisseaux à la merci de la mer, auroient esté jettés & seroient abordés en cette terre de l'Amerique. Chose qui semble estre confirmée par ce qui est écrit en la Sapience dite de Salomon,² à sçavoir que les Chananéens, avant l'entrée des enfans d'Israël en leur terre, estoient anthropophages, c'est à dire mangeurs de chair humaine, comme sont plusieurs en cette 44 plusieurs des Ameriquains sautent par-dessus le feu en faisant leurs invocations à leurs Demons, ainsi que faisoient les Chananéens. Mais il y a des raisons encores plus probables que celle-ci : entre léuelles ie diray que ceux-là ne se sont point éloignez de la verité, qui ont estimé que quelques mariniers, marchâs, & passagers surpris de quelque fortunal de vent en mer, à la violence duquel ilz n'auroient peu resister, auroient esté portés en cette terre, & là paraventure auroient fait naufrage, si bien que se trouvant nuds, ils auroient esté contraints de vivre de chasse & de pecherie, & se couvrir des peaux des animaux qu'ils auroient tués, & ainsi auroient multiplié & rempli cette terre telement quelement (car il n'y a préque que les rives de mer & des grandes rivières habitées, du moins aux premieres terres qui regardent la France, & sont en même parallele) si bien qu'ores qu'auparavant ils eussent quelque conoissance de Dieu, cela peu à peu s'est évanoui, faute d'instructeurs, comme nous voyons qu'il est arrivé en 21 tout le monde de deça peu apres le Deluge. Et plusieurs accidēs echez de

¹ Abdias, chap. 1, vers. 25 & 4 ; Esd. 13, vers. 45, 46, 47.

² Sap. 12, vers. 4, 5.

cette façon, tant de la partie de l'Orient, que du Midi, & du Nort, & des païs y interposés, peuvent avoir causé le peuplement de cette terre Occidentale en toutes parts.

Ce qui n'est sans exemple, même qui nous est familier. Car en l'an mil cinq cens quatre-vingts dix-huict, le sieur Marquis de la Roche, gentil-homme Breton, pretendant habiter la Nouvelle France, & y asseoir des colonies Françoises, suivant la permission qu'il en avoit du Roy, il y mena quelque nombre de gens, léquels (pource qu'il ne conoissoit point encore le païs) il dechargea en l'île de Sable, qui est à vint lieuës de terre ferme plus au Su que le Cap-Breton, c'est à sçavoir par les quarante quatre degrez. Cependant il s'en alla reconoistre & le peuple & le païs, & chercher quelque beau port pour se loger. Au retour il fut pris d'un vent contraire qui le porta si avant en mer, que se voyant plus près de la Frâce que de ses gens,¹ il continua sa route pardeça, où il fut peu apres prisonnier és mains du Sieur Duc de Mercure, & demeurèrent là ses hommes l'espace de cinq ans vivans de poissons & du laitage de quelques vaches qui y furent portées il y a environ quatre-vingts ans, au temps du Roy François I. par le Sieur Baron de Leri, & de saint Iust, Vicomte de Gueu, lequel ayant le courage porté à choses hautes, desiroit s'établir par-dela, & y donner commencement à vne habitation de François; mais la longueur du
²² voyage l'ayant trop long temps tenu sur mer, il fut contraint de décharger là son bestial, vaches & pourceaux, faute d'eaux douces & de paturages: & des chairs de ces animaux, aujourd'hui grandement multipliés, ont vécu les gens dudict Marquis, tout le temps qu'ils ont été en cette ile. En fin le Roy étant à Rouën commanda à vn pilote de les aller recueillir lors qu'il iroit à la pecherie des Terres-neuves. Ce qu'il fit, & d'un nôbre de quarâte ou cinquante, en ramena vne douzaine, qui se presenterent à sa Majesté vétuz de peaux de loup marins. Voila comme les peuples Sauvages peuvent avoir été multipliés. Et qui eût laissé là perpetuellement ces hommes avec nombre de femmes, ilz fussent (ou leurs enfans) devenus semblables aux peuples de la Nouvelle-France, & eussent peu à peu perdu la conoissance de Dieu. Et sur cette consideration ie pourrois m'écrier avec l'Apôtre saint Paul²: *O profondeur des richesses, & de la sapience, & de la conoissance de Dieu! que ses iugemens sont incomprehensibles, & ses voyes impossibles à trouver! Car qui est-ce qui a coneu la pensée du Seigneur, ou qui a été son Conseiller?*

Si quelqu'un allegue que ce que ie viens de dire n'a peu être fait pource que ce n'est la coutume de mener les femmes en mer. Je repliqueray que cela est bon à dire en ce temps ici, mais que les premiers siecles ont été autres, auxquels etoiët les femmes plus vigoureuses, & avoient vn courage du tout mâle: au lieu qu'aujourd'hui les delices ont appoltronni & l'un & l'autre sexe. Et neant-moins encore voyons-nous quelquefois des femmes suivre leurs maris en mer.

²³ Et n'en faut qu'une pour en peupler tout vn païs: ainsi que le monde a multiplié⁴⁶ par la fecondité de nôtre premiere mere.

Or pour revenir à mon propos, j'ay vn autre argument, qui pourroit servir pour dire que ces peuples ont été portez là de cette façon, c'est à dire, par fortune de mer, & qu'ilz sont venuz de quelque race de gens qui avoient été instruits en la loy de Dieu. C'est qu'un iour comme le sieur de Poutrincourt discourroit par truchement à vn Capitaine Sauvage nommé *Chkoudun*, de nôtre Foy & religion, il répondit sur le propos du Deluge, qu'il auoit bien ouï dire

¹ Voy ci-dessous, liv. 3, ch. 32.

² Aux Rom. 11, vers. 13.

dés long temps, qu'anciennement il y avoit eu des hommes mechans léquels moururent tous, & y en vint de meilleurs en leur place. Et cette opinion du Deluge n'est pas seulement en la partie de la Nouvelle-France, où nous avons demeuré, mais elle est encore entre les peuples du Perou, léquels (à ce que raconte Joseph Acosta¹) parlent fort d'un deluge venu en leur país, auquel tous les hommes furent noyés, & que du grand lac *Titicaca* sortit un *Viracocha* (qui est le plus grâd de tous leurs Dieux, lequel ils adorent en regardant au ciel, comme createur de toutes choses) & ce *Viracocha* s'arreta en *Tiaguanaco*, où l'on voit aujourd'hui des ruines & vestiges d'anciens edifices fort étranges : & de là à *Cusco*. Ainsi recommença le genre humain à se multiplier.

Je ne veux pas nier pourtant que ces grans país n'aient peu être peuplez par vne autre voye, sçavoir que les hommes se multiplians sur la terre, & s'étendans toujours, comme ils ont fait par-deça, en fin il y a de l'apparence que de proche en proche ils ont atteint ces grandes provinces, soit par l'Orient, ou²⁴ par le Nort, ou par tous les deux. Car ie tiens que toutes les parties de la terre ferme sont concatenées ensemble, ou du moins s'il y a quelque détroit, comme⁴⁷ ceux d'Anian & de Magellan : c'est chose que les hommes peuvent aisément franchir. La consideration du passage des animaux est ce qui plus nous peut arreter l'esprit en ceci. Mais on peut dire qu'il a été aisé d'y transporter les petits, & les grands sont d'eux-mêmes capables de passer les detroits de mer, comme il est vray-semblable que les Ellans ont passé de l'Europe Septentrionale en Labrador, en Canada, en la terre des Souriquois par le Nort : car nous sçavons de certaine science qu'ilz ne font pas difficulté de passer des bayes de mer, pour accourir le chemin d'une terre à vne autre. Et nous lisons au premier voyage du Capitaine Jacques Quartier, que les ours passent aisément quatorze lieues de mer : En ayant lui-même rencontré un qui traversoit à nage la mer qui est entre la terre ferme & l'île aux oiseaux.

Mais quand ie considere que les Sauvages ont de main en main par tradition de leurs peres, vne obscure conoissance du Deluge, il me vient au devant vne autre conjecture du peuplement des Indes Occidentales, qui n'a point encore esté mise en avant. Car quel empêchement y a-il de croire que Noé ayant vécu trois cens cinquante ans après le Deluge, n'ait luy même eu le soin & pris la peine de peupler, ou plustot repeupler ces país là ? Est-il à croire qu'il soit demeuré un si lög espace de temps sans avoir fait & exploité beaucoup de²⁵ grandes & hautes entreprises ? Luy qui étoit grand ouvrier, & grand pilote, sçavoit-il point l'art de faire un autre vaisseau (car le sien étoit demeuré arrêté aux montagnes d'Ararat, c'est à dire de la grande Armenie) pour reparer la desolation de la terre ? Luy qui avoit la conoissance de mille choses que nous ne sçavons point, par la traditive des sciences infuses en nôtre premier pere, duquel⁴⁸ il peut avoir veu les enfans, ignoroit-il ces terres Occidentales, où par-aventure li avoit pris naissance ? Certes en tout cas il est à presumer qu'ayant l'esprit de Dieu, & à rétablir le monde par vne speciale election du ciel, il avoit (du moins par renommée) conoissance de ces terres là, auxquelles il ne luy a point été plus difficile de faire voile, ayant peuplé l'Italie, que de venir du bout de la mer Meditteranée sur le Tibre fôder son *Ianiculum*, si les histoires prophanes sont veritables, & par mille raisons y a apparence de le croire. Car en quelque part du monde qu'il se trouvat, il étoit parmi ses enfans. Il ne lui a, di-je, point esté plus difficile d'aller du détroit de Gibraltar en la Nouvelle-France, ou du

¹ Livre I, chap. 25, de son Histoire naturelle des Indes.

Cap-Vert au Bresil, qu'à ses enfans d'aller en Iava, ou en Iapan, planter leur nom : ou au Roy Salomon de faire des navigations de trois ans : léquelles quelques vns des plus sçavans de nôtre siecle dernier passé, & entre autres François Vatable, disent avoir été au Perou, d'où il faisoit apporter cette grande quantité d'or d'Ophir tres-fin & pur, tant celebré en la sainte Ecriture.¹

26 Que si (la chose presuppôsee de cette sorte) ceux des Indes Occidentales n'ont conservé le sacré depos de la conoissance de Dieu, & les beaux enseignemens qu'il leur pouvoit avoir laissés, il faut considerer que ceux du monde de deça n'ont pas mieux fait. Sôme cette cōjecture me semble fondée en aussi bonne & meilleure raison que les autres. Et de telle chose ayant eu Platon quelque sourde nouvelle, il en a parlé en son Timée comme vn homme de son pais, là où il a discoursu de cette grāde ile Atlantique, laquelle comme il ne voyoit point, ny personne qui y eût été de son temps, il a feint que par vn grand deluge elle avoit esté submergée dans la mer. Et après lui Æliā, au troisieme de son histoire Des choses diverses, rapporte chose préque semblable, quoy qu'il croye que ce soit fable, & dit selon Theopompus, que "jadis il y eut fort grande familiarité entre Mydas Phrygien, & Silenus. Ce Silenus estoit fils d'une Nymphe, de condition inferieure aux Dieux, mais plus noble que celle des mortels. Apres avoir tenu plusieurs propos ensemble, Silenus ajouta que l'Europe, l'Asie & la Libye estoient iles environnées de l'Ocean, mais qu'il y avoit vne terre ferme par-delà ce monde ici, de grandeur infinie, nourrissant de grans animaux, & des hommes deux fois aussi grans,² & vivans deux fois autant que nous : qu'il y avoit de grandes cités, diverses façons de vivre, & des loix contraires aux nôtres. Par après il dit encores que cette terre possede grande quantité d'or & d'argent, si bien qu'entre les peuples de delà, l'or est moins estimé que le fer entre nous, &c."

27 Qui considerera ces paroles, il trouvera qu'elles ne sont du tout fabuleuses : & conclura qu'és premiers siecles les hommes ont eu conoissance de l'Amerique, & autres terres y continentes, & que pour la longueur du voyage les hommes cessans d'y aller, cette conoissance est venuë à neant, & n'en est demeuré qu'une obscure renommée. Car Pline³ même se plaint que de son temps les hommes étoient apolltronnis & la navigation tellemēt refroidie, qu'il ne se trouvoit plus de gens entendus à la marine, de sorte que "les côtes de terres se reconnoissoient mieux par les écrits de ceux qui ne les avoient jamais veüs, que par le dire de ceux qui les habitoient. On ne se soucie plus (dit-il) de chercher de nouvelles terres, ni même de conserver la conoissance de celles qui sont des-jà trouuées, quoy que nous soyons en bonne paix, & que la mer soit ouverte & ouvre ses ports à vn chacun pour les recevoir." Ainsi les iles Fortunées (qui sont les Canaries) ayans été és plus prochains siecles apres le Deluge fort conuës, & fréquentées, cette conoissance s'est perduë par la nonchalance des hommes, jusques à ce qu'un Gentil-homme de Picardie, Guillaume de Betancourt les decouvrit és derniers siecles, comme nous dirons cy-apres.⁴

Et pour vne derniere preuve de ce que j'ay dit ci-dessus, par vne conjecture vray-semblable que les siecles plus reculés ont eu conoissance de terres Occidentales d'outre l'Ocean, j'ajouteray ici ce que les Poetes anciens ont tant chanté des Hesperides, léquelles ayant mis au Soleil couchant, elles peuvent
28 beaucoup mieux être appropriées aux iles des Indes Occidentales, qu'aux Canaries, ni Gorgones. En quoy volontiers ie m'arrete ray à ce que le même

¹ 3 des Rois, 10.

³ Livre 2, chap. 46.

² Tels sont les Patagons.

⁴ Chapitre 23 de ce livre.

Pline,¹ sur vne chose pleine d'obscurité, recite qu'un Statius Sebosus employa quarante iours à naviger depuis les Gorgones (qui sont les iles du Cap Verd) jusques aux Hesperides. Or ne faut-il point quarante jours, ains seulement sept ou huit, pour aller des Gorgones aux iles Fortunées (où quelques vns mettent les Hesperides) n'y ayant que deux cens lieuës de distance. Surquoy ie conclus que les Hesperides ne sont autres que les iles de Cuba, l'Hespagnole, la Iamaïque, & autres voisines au golfe de Mexique.

Quant au dragon qu'on disoit garder les pommes d'or des Hesperides, & aucun n'y entroit, les anciens vouloient signifier les détroits de mer qui vont en serpentant parmi ces iles, au courant déquels plusieurs vaisseaux s'estoient perdus, & qu'on n'y alloit plus. Que si le grand Hercule y a esté, & en a ravi des fruits, ce n'est pas chose éloignée de sa vertu.

¹ Livre 6, chap. 31.

²⁹ *Limites de la Nouvelle-France, & sommaire du voyage de Jean Verazzan, Capitaine Florentin, en la Terre-neuve, aujourd'hui dite La Floride, & en toute cette côte jusques au quarantième degré. Avec une brève description des peuples qui habitent ces contrees.*

CHAP. IV

51

AYANT parlé de l'origine du peuple de la Nouvelle-France, il est à propos de dire quelle est l'étenduë & situation de la province, quel est ce peuple, les mœurs, façons & coutumes d'icelui, & ce qu'il y a de particulier en cette terre, suivant les memoires que nous ont laissé ceux qui premiers y ont été, & ce que nous y avons reconu & observé durant le temps que nous y avons sejourné. Ce que ie feray, Dieu aydant, en six livres, au premier déquels seront décrits les voyages des Capitaines Verazzan, Ribaut, & Laudonniere en la Floride : Au second ceux qui ont été faits souz le sieur de Villegagnō en la Frâce antarctique du Bresil : Au troisième ceux du Capitaine Jacques Quartier & de Samuel Champlain en la grande riviere de Canada : Au quatrième ceux des sieurs De Monts & de Poutrincourt sur la côte de la Terre
³⁰ neuve qui est baignée du grand Ocean jusques au quarantième degré : Au cinquième ce qui s'est fait en ce sujet depuis nôtre retour en l'an mille six cens sept ; & au sixième les mœurs, façons & coutumes des peuples déquels nous avons à parler.

Ie comprends donc souz la Nouvelle-France tout ce qui est au-deça du Tropique de Cancer jusques au Nort, laissant la vendication de la France Antarctique à qui la voudra & pourra debattre, & à l'Hespagnol la jouïssance de ce qui est au-delà de nôtre dit Tropique. En quoy ie ne veux m'arrêter au partage fait autrefois par le Pape Alexādre sixième entre les Rois de Portugal & de Castille, lequel ne doit prejudicier au droit que noz Rois se sont justement acquis sur les
⁵² terres de conquête, telles que sont celles dont nous avons à traiter, d'autant que ce qu'il en a fait a esté comme arbitre de chose débattuë entre ces Rois : qui ne leur appartenoit non plus qu'à vn autre. Et quand en autre qualité ledit Pape en auroit ainsi ordonné ; outre que son pouvoir (hors son domaine) est purement spirituel, il est à disputer s'il pouvoit, ou devoit partager les enfans puisnez de l'Eglise, sans y appeller l'ainé.

Ainsi nôtre Nouvelle-France aura pour limites du coté d'Oüest la terre jusques à la mer dite Pacifique, au deça du Tropique de Cancer : Au Midi les îles & la mer Atlantique du côté de Cuba & l'île Hespagnole : Au Levant la mer du Nort qui baigne la Nouvelle-France : & au Septentrion, celle terre qui est dite inconnuë vers la mer glacée jusques au Pole arctique. De ce côté quel-
³¹ ques Portugais & Anglois ont fait des courses jusques aux soixantième & septantième degrez pour trouver passage d'une mer à l'autre par le Nort : mais apres beaucoup de travail ils ont perdu leurs peines, soit pour les trop grandes froidures, soit par défaut des choses necessaires à poursuivre leur route.

En l'an mille cinq cens vingt-quatre, Iean Verazzan, Florentin, fut envoyé à la decouverte des terres par nôtre Roy Tres-Chrétien François premier, & de son voyage il fit vn rapport à sa Majesté, duquel je représenteray les choses principales sans m'arreter à suivre le fil de son discours. Voici donc ce qu'il en écrit : Ayans outrepassé l'île de Madere, nous fumes poussez d'une horrible tempête, qui nous guidât vert le Nort, au Septentrion, apres que la mer fut
 53 accoisée nous ne laissames de courir la même route l'espace de vingt-cinq jours, faisans plus de quatre cens lieües de chemin par les ondes de l'Océan : où nous découvrimes vne Terre-neuve, non jamais (que l'on sçache) conüe, ni decouverte par les anciens, ni par les modernes : & d'arrivée elle nous sembla fort basse : mais approchans à vn quart de lieüe, nous conumes par les grans feuz que l'on faisoit le long des havres, & orées de la mer, qu'elle étoit habitée, & qu'elle regardoit vers le Midy : & nous mettans en peine de prendre port pour surgir & avoir conoissance du pays, nous navigames plus de cinquante lieües en vain : si que voyans que tousjours la côte tournoit au Midi, nous deliberames de rebrousser chemin vers le Nort, suivant nôtre course premiere. En fin voyant 32 qu'il n'y avoit ordre de prendre port, nous surgimes en la côte, & envoyames vn esquif vers terre, où furent veuz grand nombre des habitans du païs qui approchèrent du bord de la mer, mais dès qu'ilz virent les Chrétiens proches d'eux ilz s'enfuirent, non toutefois en telle sorte qu'ils ne regardassent souvent derriere eux, & ne prinssent plaisir avec admiration de voir ce qu'ils n'avoient accoutumé en leur terre : & s'ébahissoient & des habits des nôtres, & de leur blancheur & effigie, leur montrans où plus commodément ilz pourroient prendre terre, &c. Puis adjoute : Ilz vont tout nuds, sauf qu'ilz couvrent leurs parties honteuses avec quelques peaux de certains animaux qui se rapportent aux martres, & ces peaux sont attachées à vne ceinture d'herbe qu'ilz font propre à ceci, & fort étroite, & tissuë gentillemeut, & accourée avec plusieurs queueës d'autres animaux qui leur environnent le corps, & les couvrent jusques aux genoux ; &
 54 sur la tête aucuns d'eux portent comme des chapeaux, & guirlandes faites de beaux pennaches. Ce peuple est de couleur vn peu bazannée, comme quelques Mores de la Barbarie qui avoisinent le plus de l'Europe : ont les cheveux noirs, touffus, & non gueres longs, & léquels ilz lient tout vnis & droits sur la tête, tout ainsi faits que si c'étoit vne queue. Ilz sont bien proportionnez de membres, de stature moyenne, vn peu plus grans que nous ne sommes, larges de poitrine, les bras forts & dispos, comme aussi ils ont & pieds & jambes propres à la course, n'ayant rien qui ne soit bien proportionné, sauf qu'ils ont la face large, quoy que non tous, les ieux noirs & grans, le regard prompt & arrêté. Ils sont 33 assez foibles de force, mais subtils & aigus d'esprit, agiles & des plus grans & vites coureurs de la terre.

Or quant au plan & sit de cette terre & de l'orée maritime, elle est toute couverte de menu sablon qui va quelques quinze piés en montant, & s'étend comme de petites collines & côtaux, ayans quelques cinquante pas de large : & navigât plus outre on trouve quelques ruisseaux & bras de mer qui entrent par aucunes fosses & canaux, léquels arrousent les deux bords. Apres ce on voit la terre large, laquelle surmonte ces havres areneux, ayant de tres-belles campagnes & plaines, qui sont couvertes de bocages & forets tres-touffuës, si plaisantes à voir que c'est merveille : & les arbres sont pour la pluspart lauriers, palmiers & hauts cyprés, & d'autres qui sont inconnus à nôtre Europe, & léquels rendoient vne odeur tres-suave, qui fit penser aux François que ce païs participant en cir-

conference avec l'Oriët, ne peut être qu'il ne soit aussi abondant en drogues & liqueurs aromatiques, comme encore la terre donne assez d'indices qu'elle n'est sans avoir des mines d'or, & d'argent & autres métaux. Et est encore cette terre abondante en cerfs, daims & lievres. Il y a des lacs & étangs en grand nombre, & des fleuves & ruisseaux d'eau vive, & des oyseaux de diverses especes, pour ne laisser chose qui puisse servir à l'usage des hommes.

Cette terre est en elevation de trente-quatre degrez, ayant l'air pur, serein, & 34 fort sain, & temperé entre chaud & froid, & ne sent-on point que les vens violens & impetueux soufflent & respirent en cette region, y regnant le vent d'Orient & d'Occident, & sur tout en Été, y étant le ciel clair & sans pluie, si ce n'est que quelquefois le vent Austral souffle, lequel fait élever quelques nuages & brouillars, mais cela se passe tout soudainement, & revient la premiere clarté. La mer y 55 est quoye, & sans violence ni tourbillonnemens de flots, & quoy que la plage soit basse & sans aucun port, si n'est-elle point facheuse aux navigans, d'autant qu'il n'y a pas vn écueil, & que jusques à rez de terre à cinq ou six pas d'icelle, on trouve sans flux ny reflux vint piés d'eau. Quant à la haute mer on y peut facilement surgir, bien qu'une nef fût combattuë de la fortune, mais près de la rade il y fait dangereux. Par cette description peut-on reconoitre que ledit Verazzan est le premier qui a découvert cette côte qui n'avoit point encore de nom, laquelle il appelle Terre-neuve, & depuis a été appelée la Floride par les Hespagnols, soit ou pource qu'ils en eurent la veuë le jour de Pasques flories, ou pource qu'elle est toute verte & florissante, & que même les eaux y sont couvertes d'herbes verdoyantes, étant auparavant nommée *Iaquaza* par ceux du pais.

Quant à ce qui est de la nature du peuple de cette contrée, noz François en parlent tout autrement que les Hespagnols, aussi étans naturellemēt plus humains, doux, & courtois, ils y ont receu meilleur traitement. Car Iean Ponce y étant allé à la découverte, & ayant mis pied à terre : cōme il vouloit jeter les 35 fondemens de quelque citadelle ou fort, il y fut si furieusement attaqué par vn soudain choc des habitans du pais, qu'outre la perte d'un grand nombre de ses soldats, il receut vne playe mortelle, dont il mourut tōt apres, ce qui mit son entreprise à neant, & ne reconurent pour lors les Hespagnols que cet endroit où ils pretendoient se percher.

Depuis encore Ferdinand Sotto, riche des dépouilles du Peru, après avoir enlevé les thresors d'Atabalippa, desireux d'entreprendre choses grandes, fut envoyé en ces parties-là par Charles V. Empereur, avec vne armée, en l'an mille 56 cinq cens trente-quatre. Mais comme l'avarice insatiable le poussoit, recherchant les mines d'or premier que de se fortifier, cependāt qu'il erroit ainsi vagabond, & ne trouvant ce qu'il cherchoit & esperoit, il mourut de vergongne & de dueil, & ses soldats qui deça, qui delà, furent assommés en grand nombre par les Barbares. Derechef en l'an mille cinq cens quarante-huit, furent envoyez d'autres gens par le mesme Charles V. lesquels furent traitez de même, & quelques-vns écorchez, & leurs peaux attachées aux portes de leurs temples.

Nōtre Florentin Verazzan s'étant (comme il est à presumer) comporté plus humainement envers ces peuples, n'en receut que toute courtoisie, & pourtant dit qu'ils sont si gracieux & humains, qu'eux (c'est à dire les François) voulans sçavoir quelle estoit la gent qui habitoit le long de cette côte, envoyerent vn jeune marinier, lequel sautant en l'eau (pource qu'ils ne pouvoient prendre terre, 36 à cause des flots & courans) afin de donner quelques petites denrées à ce peuple, & les leur ayant jettées de loin (pource qu'il se meffioit d'eux) il fut poussé

violemment par les vagues sur la rive. Les Indiens (ainsi les appelle-il tous) le voyans en cet état, le prennent & le portent bien loin de la marine, au grand étonnemēt du pauvre matelot, lequel s'attendoit qu'on l'allat sacrifier, & pour ce crioit-il à l'ayde, & au secours, comme aussi les Barbares crioient de leur part pensans l'asseur. L'ayans mis au pied d'un côtau à l'objet du Soleil, ils le dépouillerent tout nud, s'ébahissans de la blancheur de sa chair, & allumans vn grand feu, le firent revenir & reprēdre sa force : & ce fut lors que tant ce pauvre jeune homme que ceux qui étoient au bateau, estimoient que ces Indiens le deus-
 57 sent massacrer & immoler, faisans rotir sa chair en ce grād brazier, & puis en prendre leur curée, ainsi que font les Canibales. Mais il en avint tout autrement. Car ayāt repris ses esprits, & eté quelque temps avec eux, il leur fit signe qu'il s'en vouloit retourner au navire, où avec grande amitié ilz le reconduirent, l'accollans fort amoureušemēt. Et pour lui dōner plus d'asseurāce, ils luy firent large entr'-eux, & s'arriterēt jusques à tāt qu'il fut à la mer.

Ayans traversé pais quelque centaine de lieuës en tirant vers la côte qui est aujourd'hui appelée Virginia, ilz vindrent à vne autre contrée plus belle & plaisante que l'autre, & où les habitans étoient plus blancs, & qui se vétoient de certaines herbes pendantes aux rameaux des arbres, & léquelles ilz tissent avec cordes de chanve sauvage, dont ils ont grande abondance.

Ilz vivent de legumes, léquels ressemblent aux nôtres ; & de poissons, & 37 d'oiseaux qu'ilz prennēt aux rets, & avec leurs arcs, les flèches déquels sont faites de roseaux, & de cānes, & le bout armé d'arrêtes de poisson, ou des os de quelque bête.

Ils vsent de canoës & vaisseaux tout d'vne piece, comme les Mexiquains, & y est le paisage & terroir fort plaisant, fertile & plantureux, bocageux & chargé d'arbres, mais non si odoriferēs, à cause que la côte tire plus vers le Septētrion : & par ainsi étant plus froide, les fleurs & fruits n'ont la vehemence en l'odeur que celle des contrées susdites.

La terre y porte des vignes & raisins sans culture, & ces vignes vont se haus-
 sant sur les arbres, ainsi qu'on les voit accoutrées en Lombardie, & en plusieurs endroits de la Gascogne : & est ce fruit bon, & de même gout que les nôtres, & bien qu'ils n'en facēt point de vin, si est-ce qu'ils en mangent, & s'ils ne cultivent cet arbrisseau, à tout le moins otent-ils les feuillages qui lui peuvent nuire & empêcher que le fruit ne vienne à maturité.

58 On y voit aussi des roses sauvages, des lis, des violettes, & d'autres herbes odoriferentes & qui sont différentes des nôtres.

Et quāt à leurs maisons, elles sont faites de bois & sur les arbres, & en d'aucuns endroits ilz n'ont autre gîte que la terre, ni autre couverture que le ciel, & par ainsi ilz sont tretous logés à l'enseigne du Croissant, comme aussi sont ceux qui se tiennent le long de ces terres & rives de la mer.

Somme nôtre Verazzan decrit fort amplemēt toute cette côte, laquelle il a 38 vniversellement veuē jusques aux Terres-neuves où se fait la pecherie des moruës.

Mais d'autant qu'en nôtre navigation derniere souz la charge du sieur de Poutrincourt, en l'an mille six cens six, nous n'avōs decouvert que jusques au quarantième degré, afin que le lecteur ait la piece entiere de toute nôtre Nouvelle-France conuë, ie coucheray ici ce que le même nous a laissé d'un pais qu'il decrit, & lequel il fait en même elevation qu'est la ville de Rome, à sçavoir à quarante degrez de la ligne, qui est vne partie du pais des Armouchiquois (car il

ne donne pas de nom à pas vn des lieux qu'il a veu). Il dit donc qu'il vit deux Rois (c'est à dire Capitaines) & leur train, tous allans nuds, sauf que les parties honteuses sont couvertes de peau, soit de cerfou d'autre sauvagine : hommes & femmes beaux & courtois sur tous autres de cette côte, ne se soucians d'or, ni d'argent, comme aussi ilz ne tenoient en admiration ni les miroirs, ni la lueur des armes des Chrétiens : seulement s'enqueroient comme on avoit mis ceci en œuvre. Vit leurs logis qui étoient faits comme les chassis d'un lit, soutenus de quatre piliers, & couverts de certaine paille, comme noz nates, pour les defendre de la pluie : Et s'ils avoient l'industrie de bâtir comme par-deça, il leur seroit fort aisé, à cause de l'abondance de pierres qu'ils ont de toutes sortes : les bords de la mer en étans tout couvers, & de marbre & de jaspe, & autres especes. Ilz changent de place, & transportent leurs cabanes toutes les fois que bon leur
39 semble, ayans en vn rien dressé vn logis semblable, & chacun pere de famille y demeurant avec les siens, si bien qu'on verra en vne loge vint & trente personnes. Etans malades ilz se guerissent avec le feu, & meurent plus de grande vieillesse que d'autre chose. Ilz vivent de legumes, comme les autres que nous avons dit, & observent le cours de la lune lors qu'il faut les semer. Ilz sont aussi fort pitoyables envers leurs parens lors qu'ilz meurent, ou sont en adversité : car ilz les pleurent & plaignent : & étans morts ilz chantent ie ne sçay quelz vers ramentevans leur vie passée.

Voila en somme la substance de ce que nôtre Capitaine Florentin écrit des peuples qu'il a découverts. Quelqu'un dit qu'étant parvenu au Cap-Breton (qui est l'entrée pour cingler vers la grande riviere de Canada) il fut pris & devoré des Sauvages. Ce que difficilement puis-je croire, puis qu'il fit la relation susdite de son voyage au Roy, & attendu que les Sauvages de cette terre-là ne sont point anthropophages, & se contentent d'enlever la teste de leur ennemi. Bien est vray que plus avant vers le Nort il y a quelque nation farouche qui guerroye perpetuellement noz mariniens faisans leur pecherie. Mais j'entens que la querelle n'est pas si vieille, ains est depuis vingt-ans seulement, que les Maloins tuerent vne femme d'un Capitaine, & n'en est point encor la vengeance assouvie. Car tous ces peuples barbares generalement appetent la vengeance, laquelle ilz n'oublient jamais, ains en laissent la memoire à leurs enfans. Et la religion Chrétienne a
40 cette perfection entre autres choses, qu'elle modere ces passions effrenées, remettant bien souvent l'injure, la justice, & l'exécution d'icelle au jugement de Dieu.

*Voyage du Capitaine Iean Ribaut en la Floride : Les découvertes qu'il y a fait :
& la premiere demeure des Chrétiens & François en cette province.*

60

CHAP. V

ENCORE que portez de la marée & du vent tout ensemble nous ayons passé les bornes de la Floride, & soyōs parvenuz jusques au quatrième degré, toutefois il n'y aura point danger de tourner le Cap en arriere & rentrer sur noz brisées, d'autant que si nous voulons passer outre nous entrerons sur les battures de Malebarre, terre des Armouchiquois, en danger de nous perdre, si ce n'est que nous voulions tenir la mer : mais ce faisant nous ne reconoitrons point les peuples sur le sujet déquels nous-nous sommes mis sur le grand Ocean. Retournons donc en la Floride, car i'enten que depuis nôtre depart le Roy y a envoyé gens pour y dresser des habitations & colonies Françoises.

Iaçoit donc que selon l'ordre du temps il seroit convenable de rapporter ici les voyages du Capitaine Iacques Quartier, toutefois il me semble meilleur de continuer ici tout d'une suite le discours de la Floride, & montrer comme noz François y envoyez de par le Roy l'ont premiers habitée, & ont traité alliance & amitié avec les Capitaines & Chefs d'icelle.

En l'an mille cinq cens soixante deux, l'Admiral de Chatillon, Seigneur de 41
louable memoire, mais qui s'enveloppa trop avant aux partialitez de la Religion, desirieux de l'honneur de la France, fit en sorte envers le jeune Roy Charles IX. porté de lui-même à choses hautes, qu'il trouva bon d'envoyer nombre de gens à la Floride, pour lors encores inhabitée des Chrétiens, afin d'y établir le nom de 61
Dieu souz son autorité. De cette expedition fut ordonné chef Iean Ribaut, homme grave & fort expérimenté en l'art de la marine, lequel après avoir receu le commandement du Roy se mit en mer le 18. de Février, accompagné de deux Roberges qui lui avoient été fournies, & d'un bon nombre de gentilshommes, ouvriers & soldats. Ayant donc navigé deux mois, il prit port en la Nouvelle France, terrissant pres vn cap, ou promontoire, non relevé de terre, pour-ce que la côte est toute plate (ainsi que nous avons veu ci dessus en la description du voyage de Iean Verazzan) & appela ce cap *le Cap François* en l'honneur de nôtre France. Ce cap distant de l'Equateur d'environ trente degrez.

De ce lieu laissant la côte de la Floride qui se recourbe directement au Midi vers l'île de Cuba finissant comme en pointe triangulaire, il cotoya vers le Septentrion, & dans peu de temps découvrit vne fort belle & grande riviere, laquelle il voulut reconoitre, & arrivé au bord d'icelle le peuple le receut avec bon accueil, lui faisant presens de peaux de chamois : & là non loin de l'embouchure de ladite riviere, il fit planter dans la riviere même vne colonne de pierre de taille 42
sur vn côté de terre sablonneuse, en laquelle les armoiries de France étoient empreintes & gravées. Et entrant plus avant pour reconoitre le país, il s'arrêta

en l'autre côté d'icelle riviere, où ayant mis pied à terre pour prier Dieu & lui rendre graces, ce peuple cuidoit que les François adorassent le Soleil, par-ce qu'en priant ilz dressaient la veuë vers le ciel. Le Capitaine des Indiens de ce côté de la riviere (que l'historien de ce voyage appelle Roy) fit present audit Ribaut d'un panache d'aigrettes teint en rouge, d'un panier fait avec des palmites, tissu fort artificiellement, & d'une grande peau figurée par tout de divers animaux sauvages si vivement représentés & pourtraits que rien n'y restoit que la vie. Le Capitaine François en reciproque lui bailla des petits brasselets d'étain argentez, vne serpe, vn miroir, & des couteaux, dont il fut fort content, & au contraire 62 contristé du depart des François, auxquels à l'adieu il fit don de grande quantité de poissons. De là traversans la riviere, ces peuples se mettoient jusques aux aisselles pour recevoir les nôtres avec presens de mil & meures blanches & rouges, & pour les porter à terre. Là ils allerent voir le Roy (que j'aime mieux nommer Capitaine) de ces Indiens, lequel ilz trouverent assis sur vne ramée de cedres & de lauriers, ayant près de soy ses deux fils, beaux & puissans au possible, & environné d'une troupe d'Indiens, qui tous avoient l'arc en main & la trousse pleine de fleches sur le dos merveilleusement bien en conche. En 43 cette terre y a grãde quantité de vers à soye, à cause des meuriers. Et pour-ce que noz gens y arriverent le premier jour de May, la riviere fut nommée du nom de ce mois.

De là poursuivans leur route, ilz trouverent vne autre riviere laquelle ilz nommerent Seine pour la ressemblance qu'elle a avec nôtre Seine. Et passans outre vers le Nord-est trouverent encor vne autre riviere qu'ilz nommerent Somme, où y avoit vn Capitaine non moins affable que les autres. Et plus outre encore vne autre qu'ilz nommerent Loire. Et consequemment cinq autres auxquelles ils imposèrent les noms de noz rivières de Charente, Garonne, & Gironde, & les deux autres ilz les appellerent Belle, & Grande, toutes ces neuf rivières en l'espace de soixante lieux, les noms déquelles les Hespagnols ont changés en leurs Tables geographiques : & si quelques-vnes se trouvent où ces noms soient exprimés, nous devons cela aux Holandois.

Or d'autant que celui qui est en plein drap choisit où il veut, aussi noz François trouvant toute cette côte inhabitée de Chrétiens, ilz desirerent se loger à plaisir, & passans outre toujours vers le Nord-est, trouverent vne plus belle & grande riviere, laquelle ilz pensoient estre celle de Jordan, dont ils estoient fort 63 desireux, & paraventure est cette-ci même, car elle est vne des belles qui soit en toute cette universelle côte. La profondeur y est telle, nommément quand la mer commence à fluer dedans, que les plus grans vaisseaux de France, voire les 44 caragues de Venise y pourroient entrer. Ainsi ilz mouillerent l'ancre à dix brasses d'eau, & appellerent ce lieu & la riviere même LE PORT ROYAL. Pour la qualité de la terre, il ne se peut rien voir de plus beau, car elle étoit toute couverte de hauts chenes & cedres en infinité, & au dessus d'iceux de lentisques de si suave odeur, que cela seul rendoit le lieu desirable. Et cheminans à travers les ramées ilz ne voyoient autre chose que poules d'Indes s'envoler par les forets, & perdrix grises & rouges quelque peu differentes des nôtres, mais principalement en grandeur. Ils entendoient aussi des cerfs brosser parmi les bois, des ours, loups-cerviers, leopards, & autres especes d'animaux à nous inconnus. Quant à la pecherie, vn coup de saine étoit suffisant pour nourrir vn iour entier tout l'équipage.

Cette riviere est à son embouchement large de cap en cap de trois lieux

Françoises. Ilz penetrerent fort avant dedans & trouverent force Indiens, qui du cōmencement fuioiēt à leur venuē, mais par après furent bien-tot apprivoisez, se faisans des presens les vns aux autres, & vouloient ces peuples les retenir avec eux, leur promettans merveilles. En vn des bras de cette riviere trouvans lieu propre, ilz planterent en vne petite ile vne borne où étoient gravées les armes de France. Au reste ces peuples là sont si heureux en leur façon de vivre, qu'ilz ne la voudroient pas quitter pour la nôtre. Et en cela est la condition du menu peuple de deça bien miserable (ie laisse à part le point de la religiō) qu'ils n'ont rien qu'avec vne incroyable peine & travail, & ceux-là ont abondance de tout ce qui leur est neces- 45 saire à vivre. Que s'ilz ne sont habillez de velours & de satin, la felicité ne git point en cela, ains ie diray que la cupidité de telles choses, & autres superfluites que nous voulons avoir, sont les bourreaux de nôtre vie. Car pour 64 parvenir à ces choses, celui qui n'a son diner pret, a besoin de merveilleux artifices, éq̃uels bien souvent la conscience demeure interessée. Mais encore chacun n'a-il point ces artifices : car tel a envie de travailler qui ne trouve pas à quoy s'occuper : & tel travaille, à qui son labeur est ingrat : & de là mille pauvretés entre nous. Et entre ces peuples tous sont riches s'ils avoient la grace de Dieu, car la vraye richesse du monde, c'est d'avoir contentement. La terre & la mer leur donnent abondamment ce qu'il leur faut, ils en vsent sans rechercher les façons de deguiser les viandes, ni tāt de saulses qui bien-souvent coutent plus que le poisson. Et pour les avoir se faut donner de la peine. Que s'ilz n'ont tant d'appareils que nous, ilz peuvēt dire d'autre part que nous n'avōs point libre la chasse du cerf & autres bêtes des bois, comme eux : ni des esturgeons, saumōs, & mille autres poissons à foison.

Noz François caresserent fort long temps deux jeunes Indiens pour les amener en France & les presenter à la Royne, suivant le commandement qu'ils en avoient eu, mais il n'y eut moyen de les retenir, ains se sauverent sans emporter les habits qui leur avoient été donnés. Au temps de Charles V. Empereur, les Hespagnols habitans de saint Domingue en attirerēt cauteusement quelques 46 vns de cette côte, jusques au nombre de quarante, pour travailler à leurs mines, mais ilz n'en eurent point le fruit qu'ils en attendoient, car ilz se laisserent mourir de faim, excepté vn qui fut mené à l'Empereur, lequel il fit peu après baptizer, & lui donna son nom. Et parce que cet Indiē parloit toujours de son Seigneur (ou Roy) *Chiquola*, il fut nommé Charles de *Chiquola*. Ce *Chiquola* étoit vn des plus grans Capitaines de cette contrée, habitant avant dans les terres en vne ville, ou grand enclos, où y avoit de fort belles & hautes maisons.

Or le Capitaine Ribaut, apres avoir bien reconu cette riviere, desireux de l'habiter, il assembla ses gens, auxquels il fit vne longue harangue pour les encourager à se resoudre à cette demeure, leur remontrant combien ce leur seroit 65 chose honorable à tout jamais d'avoir entrepris vne chose si belle, quoy que difficile. Enquoy il n'oublia à leur proposer les exemples de ceux qui de bas lieu étoient parvenus à des choses grandes, comme de l'Empereur Ælie Pertinax, lequel étant fils d'un cordonnier ne dedaigna de publier la bassesse de son extraction, ains pour exciter les hommes de courage, quoy que pauvres, à bien esperer, fit recouvrir la boutique de son pere d'un marbre bien elabouré. Aussi du vaillant & redouté Agatocles, lequel étant fils d'un potier de terre, fut depuis Roy de Sicile, & parmi les vaisselles d'or & d'argent se faisoit aussi servir de poterie de terre en memoire de la condition de son pere. De Rusten Bascha, 47

de qui le pere étoit vacher, & toutefois par sa valeur & vertu parvint à tel degré qu'il épousa la fille du grand Seigneur son Prince. A peine eut-il achevé son propos, que la plupart des soldats répondirent qu'un plus grand heur ne leur pourroit avenir que de faire chose qui deût reussir au contentement du Roy, & à l'accroissement de leur honneur. Supplians le Capitaine avant que partir de ce lieu leur bâtir vn fort, ou y donner commencement, & leur laisser munitions necessaires pour leur defense. Et ja leur tardeoit que cela ne fût fait.

Le Capitaine les voyant en si bonne volonté, en fut fort rejoui, & choisit vn lieu au Septentrion de cette riviere le plus propre & commode, & au contentement de ceux qui y devoient habiter, qu'il fut possible de trouver. Ce fut vne ile qui finit en pointe vers l'embouchure d'icelle riviere, dans laquelle il entre vne autre petite riviere, neantmoins assez profonde pour y retirer galleres & galliotes en assez bon nombre : & poursuivant plus avant au long de cette ile, il trouva vn lieu fort explané joignant le bord d'icelle, auquel il descendit, & y bâtit la forteresse, qu'il garnit de vivres & munitions de guerre pour la defense de la place. Puis les ayant accommodé de tout ce qui leur étoit besoin, resolut de prendre congé d'eux. Mais avant que partir, appelant ⁶⁶ le Capitaine Albert (lequel il laissoit chef en ce lieu) : *Capitaine Albert* (dit-il), *i'ay à vous prier en presence de tous, que vous ayés à vous acquitter si sagement de vôtre devoir, & si modestement gouverner la petite troupe que ie vous laisse* (ils n'étoient que quarante), *laquelle de si grande gayeté demeure souz vôtre obeissance, que iamais ie n'aye occasion que de vous louer, & ne taire* (comme i'en ay bonne envie) *devant le Roy le fidele service qu'en la presence de nous tous lui promettez faire en sa Nouvelle France. Et vous, compagnons* (dit-il aux soldats), *je vous supplie aussi reconoitre le Capitaine Albert comme si c'étoit moy-même qui demeurast, luy rendans obeissance telle que le vray soldat doit faire à son chef & Capitaine, vivans en fraternité les vns avec les autres, sans aucune dissension, & ce faisant Dieu vous assistera & benira vos entreprises.*

Retour du Capitaine Jean Ribaut en France : Confederation des François avec les chefs des Indiens ; Fêtes d'iceux Indiens ; Necessité de vivres. Courtoisie des Indiens : Division des François : Mort du Capitaine Albert.

LE Capitaine Ribaut ayant fini son propos, il imposa au Fort des François le nom de CHARLE-FORT, en l'honneur du Roy Charles, & à la petite riviere celui de Chenonceau. Et prenant congé de tous, il se retira avec sa troupe dans ses vaisseaux. Le lendemain levât les voiles, il salua les François Floridiens de maintes canonades pour leur dire adieu, eux de 49 leur part ne s'oublierent à rendre la pareille.

Les voila donc à la voile tirans vers le Nord-est pour découvrir davantage la côte, & à quinze lieues du Port Royal trouverent vne riviere, laquelle ayans reconu n'avoir que demie brasse d'eau en son plus profond, ilz l'appellerent la Riviere basse. De là gaignans la campagne salée, ilz se trouverent en peine, & ne sçavoient que faire étans reduits à six, cinq, quatre & trois brasses d'eau, encores qu'ilz fussent six lieues en mer. Mettans donc les voiles bas le Capitaine print conseil de ce qu'ils auroient à faire, ou de poursuivre la découverte, ou de se mettre en mer par le Levant, attendu qu'il avoit de certain reconu, même laissé des François qui ja possedoient la terre. Les vns lui dirent qu'il avoit occasion de se contenter veu qu'il ne pouvoit faire davantage, luy remettans devant les yeux qu'il avoit découvert en six semaines plus que les Hespagnols n'avoient fait en deux ans de conquestes de leur Nouvelle Hespagne : & que ce seroit vn grand service au Roy s'il lui portoit nouvelles en si peu de temps d'une 68 si heureuse navigation. D'autres lui proposerent la perte & degat de ses vivres, & d'ailleurs l'inconvenient qui pourroit avenir pour le peu d'eau qui se trouvoit de jour en jour le long de la côte. Ce que bien debattu, il se resolut de quitter cette route, & prendre la partie Orientale pour retourner droit en France, en laquelle il arriva le vintieme de Juillet, mil cinq cens soixante deux.

Cependant le Capitaine Albert s'étudia de faire des alliances & confederations 50 avec les *Paraoustis* (ou Capitaines) du païs : entre autres avec vn nommé *Audusta*, par lequel il eut la conoissance & amitié de quatre autres, sçavoir *Mayon*, *Hoya*, *Touppa* & *Stalame*, léquels il visita & s'honorèrent les vns les autres par mutuels presens. La demeure dudit *Stalame* estoit distante de Charlefort de quinze grandes lieues à la partie Septentrionale de la riviere : & pour confirmation d'amitié, il bailla audit Capitaine Albert son arc & ses fleches & quelques peaux de chamois. Pour le regard d'*Audusta*, l'amitié étoit si grande entre eux qu'il ne faisoit ny entreprenoit rien de grand sans le conseil de noz François. Mémes il les invitoit aux fêtes qu'ilz celebrent par certaines saisons. Entre léquelles y en a vne qu'ils appellent *Toya*, où ilz font des ceremonies étranges. Le peuple s'assemble en la maison (ou cabane) du *Paraousti*, & apres

qu'ilz se sont peints & emplumez de diverses couleurs, ilz s'acheminent au lieu du *Toya*, qui est vne grande place ronde, là où arrivés ilz se rangent en ordonnance, puis trois autres surviennent peints d'autre façon, chacun vne tabourasse au poing, léquels entrent au milieu du rond dansans & chantâs lamêtablement, suivis des autres qui leur répondent. Après trois tournoyemens faits de cette façon, ilz se prennent à courir comme chevaux de bridez parmi l'épais des forets. Là dessus les femmes commencent à pleurer & continuent tout le long du jour si lamentablement que rien plus : & en telle furie empoignent les bras des ieunes filles, léquelles elles decoupent cruellement avec des ecailles de moules bien aigües, si biẽ que le sang en decoule, lequel 69 elles jettent en l'air, s'écrians : *He Toya* par trois fois. Les trois qui commencent la fête sont nommez *Ioanas* : & sont comme les Prêtres & sacrificateurs des Floridiens, auxquels ils adjoutent foy & creance, en partie pour autant que de race ilz sont ordonnés aux sacrifices, & en partie aussi pour-autant qu'ilz sont si subtils magiciens, que toute chose égarée est incontinent recouvrée par leur moyen. Or ne sont ilz reverez seulement pour ces choses, mais aussi pour-autant que par ie ne sçay quelle science & conoissance qu'ils ont des herbes, ilz guerissent les maladies.

En toute nation du monde la Pretrise a toujours été reverée, & ce d'autant plus que ceux de cette qualité sont cõme les mediateurs d'entre Dieu (ou ce qu'on estime Dieu) & les hommes. Au moyen dequoy ils ont souvent possédé le peuple & assujettis les ames à leur devotion, & souz cette couleur se sont autorisés en beaucoup de lieux par dessus la raison. Ce qui a emeu plusieurs Roys & Empereurs d'envier cette dignité, reconnoissans que cela pouvoit beaucoup servir à la manutention de leur état. Celui aussi qui peut reveler les choses absentes pour léquelles nous sommes en peine, non sans cause est honoré de nous, & principalement quand avec ceci il a la conoissance des choses propres à la guérison de noz maladies, chose merveilleusement puissante pour acquérir du 52 credit & autorité entre les hommes : ce que l'Ecriture sainte a remarqué quand elle a dit par la bouche du Sage fils de Sirach : *Honore le Medecin de l'honneur qui lui appartient pour le besoin que tu en as : La science du Medecin lui fait lever la tête, & le rend admirable entre les Princes.*¹

Ces Prêtres donc, ou plutot Devins, qui s'en sont ainsi fuis par les bois, retournent deux jours après : puis étans arrivés, ilz commencent à danser d'une gayeté de courage tout au beau milieu de la place, & à rejouir les bons peres Indiens, qui pour leur vieillesse ou indisposition ne sont appellés à la feste : puis se mettent à banqueter, mais c'est d'une avidité si grãde, qu'ilz semblent plutot 70 devorer que manger. Or ces *Ioanas* durant les deux jours qu'ilz sont ainsi par les bois font des invocations à *Toya* (qui est le demon qu'ilz consultent) & par caracteres magiques le font venir pour parler à lui, & lui demander plusieurs choses selon que leurs affaires le desirent. A cette fête furent noz François invitez, comme aussi au banquet.

Mais après s'en étans retournés à Charle-fort, je ne trouve point à quoy ilz s'occupiẽt : & ose bien croire qu'ilz firent bonne chere tant que leurs vivres durerent, sans se soucier du lendemain, ny de cultiver & ensemer la terre, ce qu'ils ne devoiẽt obmettre puis que c'étoit l'intention du Roy de faire habiter la province, & qu'ilz y étoient demeurez pour cet effect. Le sieur de Poutrin-court en fit tout autrement en nôtre voyage. Car dès le lendemain que nous

¹ Ecclesiastic., 38.

fumes arrivés au PORT ROYAL (Port qui ne cede à l'autre, duquel nous avons 53 parlé, en tout ce qui peut estre du contentement des lieux) il employa ses ouvriers à cela, comme nous dirons en son lieu, & print garde aux vivres de telle façon que le pain ni le vin n'a jamais manqué à personne, ains avions dix barriques de farines de reste, & du vin autant qu'il nous falloit, voire encore plus : mais ceux qui nous vindrent querir (dont on avoit fait chef vn jeune fils de Saint-Malo, nommé Chevalier) nous aiderent bien à le boire, au lieu de nous apporter du soulagement.

Noz François donc de Charle-fort, soit faute de prevoyance, ou autrement, au bout de quelque tēps se trouverent courts de vivres, & furent contraints d'importuner leurs voisins, léquels se depouillerēt pour eux, se reservans seulement les grains necessaires pour ensementer leurs champs, ce qu'ilz font environ le mois de Mars. En quoy ie conjecture que dés le mois de Janvier ilz n'avoient plus rien. C'est pourquoy les Indiens leur donnerent avis de se retirer par les bois & de vivre de glans & de racines, en attendant la moisson. Ilz leur 71 dōnerent aussi avis d'aller vers les terres d'vn puissant & redouté Capitaine nommé *Covecnis*, lequel demouroit plus loin en la partie meridionale, abondante en toutes saisons en mil, farines, & fèves : disans que par le secours de cetui-ci & de son frere *Ouadé*, aussi grand Capitaine, ilz pourroient avoir des vivres pour vn fort long temps, & seroient bien aises de les voir & prendre conoissance à eux. Noz François, pressez ja de necessité accepterēt l'avis, & avec vn guide se mirent 54 en mer, & trouverent *Ouadé* à vint-cinq lieuës de Charle-fort, en la riviere Belle, lequel en son langage lui témoigna le grand plaisir qu'il avoit de les voir là venuz, protestant leur estre si loyal amy à l'avenir, que contre tous ceux qui leur voudroient être ennemis il leur seroit fidele defenseur. Sa maison étoit tapissée de plumasserie de diverses couleurs de la hauteur d'vne picque, & son lict couvert de blanches couvertures tissües en compartimens d'ingenieux artifice, & frangez tout à-lentour d'vne frange teinte en couleur d'écarlate. Là ils exposerent leur necessité, à laquelle fut incontinent pourveu par le Capitaine Indien, lequel aussi leur fit present de six pieces de ses tapisseries telles que nous avons dites. En recompense dequoy les François luy baillerent quelques serpes & autres marchandises : & s'en retournerent. Mais comme ilz pensoient être à leur aise, voici que de nuit le feu aidé du vent, se print à leurs maisons d'vne telle apreté, que tout y fut consommé fors quelque peu de munitions. En cette extremité les Indiens ayans pitié d'eux les ayderent de courage à rebatir vne autre maison, & pour les vivres ils eurent recours vne autre fois au Capitaine *Ouadé*, & encores à son frere *Covecnis*, vers léquels ils allerent & leur racontèrent le desastre qui les avoit ruiné, que pour cette cause ilz les supplioient de leur subvenir à ce besoin. Ilz ne furent trompez de leur attente. Car ces bonnes gens fort liberalement leur departirent de ce qu'ils avoient, avec promesse de plus si cela ne suffisoit. Pre- 55 sens aussi ne manquerent d'vne part & d'autre : mais *Ouadé* bailla à noz François 72 nombre de perles belles au possible, de la mine d'argent, & deux pierres de fin cristal que ces peuples fouissent au pied de certaines hautes montaignes, qui sont à dix journées de là. A tant les François se departent & retirent en leur Fort. Mais le mal-heur voulut que ceux qui n'avoient peu être domtez par les eaux, ni par le feu, le fussent par eux-mêmes. Car la division se mit entr'eux à l'occasion de la rudesse ou cruauté de leur Capitaine, lequel pendit lui-même vn de ses soldats sur vn assez maigre sujet. Et comme il menaçoit les autres de chatiment (qui paraventure ne luy obeissoient, & il est bien à croire) & mettoit quelquefois

ses menaces à execution, la mutinerie s'enflamma si avant entr'eux, qu'ilz le firent mourir. Et qui leur en donna la principale occasion, ce fut le degradement d'armes qu'il fit à vn autre soldat qu'il avoit envoyé en exil, & lui avoit manqué de promesse. Car il lui devoit envoyer des vivres de huit en huit jours, ce qu'il ne faisoit pas, mais au contraire disoit qu'il seroit bien aise d'entendre sa mort. Il disoit davantage qu'il en vouloit chatier encore d'autres, & vsoit de langage si malsonnant, que l'honneteté defend de le reciter. Les soldats qui voyoient ses furies s'augmenter de jour en jour, & craignans de tomber aux dangers des premiers, se resolurent à ce que nous avons dit, qui est de le faire mourir.

56 Vn Capitaine qui a la conduite d'un nombre d'hommes, & principalement volontaires, comme étoient ceux-ci, & en vn país tant éloigné, doit vser de beaucoup de discretion, & ne point prendre au pié levé tout ce qui se passe entre soldats, qui d'eux-mêmes aiment la gloire & le point d'honneur. Et ne doit aussi tellement se dévetir d'amis, qu'en vne troupe il n'en ait la meilleure partie à son commandement, & sur tout ceux qui sont de mise. Il doit aussi considerer que la conservation de ses gens c'est sa force, & le depeuplement sa ruine. Je puis dire du sieur de Poutrincourt (& ce sans flatterie) qu'en tout nôtre voyage il n'a jamais frappé vn seul des siens, & si quelqu'un avoit failli, il faisoit tellement semblant de le frapper qu'il lui donnoit loisir d'évader. Et neantmoins la correction est quelquefois necessaire, mais nous ne voyons point que 73 par la multitude des supplices le monde se soit jamais amendé. C'est pourquoy Senèque disoit que le plus beau & le plus digne ornement d'un Prince estoit cette coronne : POVR AVOIR CONSERVÉ LES CITOYENS.¹

¹ Au liv. de la *Clemence*, ch. 24.

*Election d'un Capitaine au lieu du capitaine Albert. Difficulté de retourner en 57
France faute de navire : Secours des Indiens là dessus : Retour : Etrange
& cruelle famine : Abord en Angleterre.*

LE dessein de noz mutins executé, ilz retournerent querir le soldat exilé qui étoit en vne petite ile distante de Charle-fort de trois lieuës, là où ilz le trouverêt à demimort de faim. Or étans de retour, ilz s'assemblerent pour élire vn Capitaine, enquoy l'élection tomba sur Nicolas Barré, homme digne de commandement, & qui véquit en bonnc concorde avec eux. Cependant ilz commencerent à batir vn petit bergantin en esperance de repasser en France, s'il ne leur venoit secours, comme ils attendoient de jour en jour. Et encores qu'il n'y eut homme qui entendit l'art, toutefois la necessité qui apprend toutes choses, leur en montra les moyens. Mais c'est peu de chose d'avoir du bois assemblé en cas de vaisseaux de mer. Car il y faut un si grād attirail, que la structure du bois ne semble qu'une petite partie. Ilz n'avoient ni cordages, ni voiles, ni dequoy calfeutrer leur vaisseau, ni moyen d'en recouvrer. Neâtmoins en fin Dieu y proveut. Car comme ils estoient en cette perplexité, voici venir *Audusta & Macou*, Princes Indiens, accompagnés de cent hômes, qui sur la plainte des François promirent de retourner dans deux jours, & apporter si bonne quantité de cordages, qu'il y en auroit suffisamment pour en fournir le bergantin. Cependant noz gens allerent par les bois recueillir tant qu'ils peurent de gommès de sapins dont ilz brayerent leur vaisseau. Ilz se servirent aussi de mousses d'arbres pour le calage ou calfeutrage. Quant aux voiles, ils en firêt de leurs chemises & draps de lit. Les Indiens ne manquerent à leur promesse. Ce qui contenta tant nosdits François qu'ils leur laisserent à l'abandon ce qui leur restoit de marchandises.

75 Le bergantin achevé, ilz se mettent en mer assez mal pourvez de vivres, & partant inconsiderément, attendu la longueur du voyage & les grans accidens qui peuvent survenir en vne si spacieuse mer. Car ayans tant seulement fait le tiers de leur route, ilz furent surpris de calmes si ennuieux qu'en trois semaines ilz n'avancerent pas de vingt-cinq lieuës. Pendant ce temps les vivres se diminuerent & vindrent à telle petitesse, qu'ilz furent contraints ne manger que chacun douze grains de mil par jour, qui sont environ de la valeur de douze pois : encore tel heur ne leur dura-il gueres : car tout à coup les vivres leur defaillirent, & n'eürêt plus asseuré recours qu'aux souliers & colets de cuir qu'ilz mangerent. Quant au boire, les vns se servoient de l'eau de la mer, les autres de leur vrine ; & demeurerent en telle necessité vn fort long temps, durant lequel vne partie mourut de faim. D'ailleurs leur vaisseau faisoit eau, & étoient bien empechés à l'etancher, mémement la mer étant emeuë, comme 59 elle fut beaucoup de fois, si biē que comme desesperés ilz laissoient là tout,

& quelquefois reprenoient vn peu de courage. En fin au dernier desespoir quelques-vns d'entr'eux proposerent qu'il étoit plus expediēt qu'vn seul mourut, que tant de gēs perissent: suivant quoy ils arreterent que l'vn mourroit pour sustenter les autres. Ce qui fut executé en la personne de *Lachere*, celui qui avoit été envoyé en exil par le Capitaine Albert, la chair duquel fut departie également entr'eux tous, chose si horrible à reciter, que la plume m'en tombe des mains. Après tant de travaux en fin ilz decouvrirent la terre, dont ilz furent tellement réjouis, que le plaisir les fit demeurer vn long-temps cōme insensez, laissans errer le bergantin ça & là sans conduite. Mais vne petite Roberge Anglesque aborda le vaisseau, en laquelle y avoit vn François qui étoit allé l'an precedent en la Nouvelle-France avec le Capitaine Ribaut. Ce François les reconut & parla à eux, puis leur fit donner à manger & boire. Incontinent ilz reprindrent leurs naturels esprits, & lui discoururent 76 au long leur navigation. Les Anglois consulterent long-temps de ce qu'ilz devoient faire. En fin ilz resolurent de mettre les plus debiles en terre, & mener le reste vers la Royne d'Angleterre.

Deux fautes sont à remarquer en ce que dessus, l'vne de n'avoir cultivé la terre, puisqu'on la vouloit habiter, l'autre de n'avoir reservé ou fabriqué d'heure quelque vaisseau, pour en cas de necessité retourner d'où l'on étoit venu. Il 60 fait bon avoir vn cheval à l'étable pour se sauver quand on ne peut resister. Mais ie me doute que ceux que l'on avoit envoyé là étoient gens ramassez de la lie des faineans, & qui aymoient mieux besogne faite, que prēdre plaisir à la faire.

Voyage du Capitaine Laudonniere en la Floride dite Nouvelle France : Son arrivée à l'île de saint Dominique : puis en ladite province de la Floride : Grand âge des Floridiens : bonnesteté d'iceux : Bastiment de la forteresse des François.

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CHAP. VIII

QVAND le Capitaine Ribaut arriva en France, il y trouva les guerres civiles allumées, léquelles furent cause en partie que les François ne furent secourus ainsi qu'il leur avoit été promis; que le Capitaine Albert fut tué, & le païs abandonné. La paix faite, l'Admiral de Châtillon, qui ne s'étoit souvenu de ses gens tandis qu'il faisoit la guerre à son Prince, en parla au Roy au bout de deux ans, lui remontrant qu'on n'en avoit aucune nouvelle, & que ce seroit dommage de les laisser perdre. A cause dequoy sa Majesté lui accorda de faire équiper trois vaisseaux, l'un de six vingts tonneaux, l'autre de cent, l'autre de soixante, pour les aller chercher & secourir, mais il en étoit bien tard.

Le Capitaine Laudonniere, Gentilhomme Poitevin, eut la charge de ces 61 trois navires, & fit voiles du havre de Grace le vingt-deuxieme Avril mille cinq cens soixante quatre, droit vers les îles Fortunées, dites maintenant Canaries, en l'une déquelles appelée *Teneriffé*, autrement le Pic, y a une chose émerveillable digne d'estre couchée ici par écrit. C'est une montagne au milieu d'icelle, si excessivement haute que plusieurs afferment l'avoir veüe de cinquante à soixante lieuës loin. Elle est préque semblable à celle d'*Ætna*, jettant des flammes comme le mont Gibel en Sicile, & va droit comme un pic, & au haut d'icelle on ne peut aller sinon depuis la mi-May jusques à la mi-Aoust, à cause de la trop vehemente froidure : chose d'autant plus émerveillable 78 qu'elle n'est distante de l'Equateur que de vint-sept degrez & demi. Mesme il y a des neges encores au mois de May, à raison dequoy Solin l'a appelée *Nivaria*, comme qui diroit l'île Negeuse. Quelques-uns pensent que cette montagne soit ce que les anciens ont appelé le môt d'Atlas, d'où la mer Atlantique a pris son nom.

De là par un vent favorable en quinze jours noz François vindrent aux Antilles, puis à saint Dominique, qui est une des plus belles îles de l'Occident, fort montagneuse, & d'assez bonne odeur. Sur la côte de cette île deux Indiens voulans aborder les François, l'un eut peur & s'enfuit, l'autre fut arrêté, & en cette sorte ne sçavoit quel geste tenir tât il étoit epouvâté, cuidât être entre les mains des Hespagnols, qui autrefois lui avoient coupé les genitoires, côme il monroit. En fin toutesfois il s'asseura, & lui bailla-on une chemise, 62 & quelques petits ioyaux. Ce peuple jaloux ne veut qu'on approche de leurs cabanes, & tuerent un François pour s'en estre trop avoisiné. La vengeance n'en fut faite, pour trop de considerations, léquelles les Hespagnols ne pouvans avoir, ont paraventure été quelquefois induits aux cruautéz qu'ils ont

commises. Vray-est qu'elles ont été excessives, & d'autant-plus abominables qu'elles ont parvenu jusques aux François, qui possedoient vne terre de leur juste & loyal conquét, sans leur faire tort, comme nous dirons à la fin de ce livre. En cette île de saint Dominique il y a des serpens enormement grans. Nos François cherchans par le bois certains fruits excellens appellés *Ananas*, tuèrent vn de ces serpens long de neuf grans pié, & gros comme la jambe.

L'arrivée en la Nouvelle-France fut le vint-deuxième Iuin, à trente degrez de l'Equateur, dix lieuës au dessus du Cap-François, & trente lieuës au dessus de la riviere de May, où les nôtres mouillerent l'ancre en vne petite riviere qu'ilz nommerent la riviere des Dauphins, où ilz furent receuz fort courtoisement & humainement des peuples du país, & de leur *Paraousti* (qui veut dire Roy ou Capitaine), au grand regret déquels ilz tirerent vers la riviere de May, à laquelle arrivez, le *Paraousti* appellé *Satouriona*, avec deux siens fils, beaux, grans & puissans, & grand nombre d'Indiens, vindrent au-devant d'eux, ne sçachans quelle contenance tenir pour la joye qu'ils avoient de leur venuë. Ilz leur montrerent la borne qu'y avoit plantée le Capitaine Ribaut deux ans auparavant, laquelle par honneur ils avoient environnée de lauriers, & au pied mis force petits paniers de mil, qu'ils appellent *tapaga, tapola*. Ilz la baisèrent plusieurs fois, & inviterent les François à en faire de même. En quoy se reconoit combien la Nature est puissante d'avoir mis vne telle sympathie entre ces peuples-ci & les François, & vne totale antipathie entr'eux & les Hespagnols.

Le ne veux m'arrêter à toutes les particularités de ce qui s'est passé en ce voyage, craignant d'ennuyer le lecteur en la trop grande curiosité, mais seulement aux choses plus generales & plus dignes d'estre sceuës. Noz gens donc, desireux de reconoitre le país, allerent à-mont la riviere, en laquelle étans entré bien avant & recreuz du chemin, ilz trouverent quelques Indiens, léquels voyans être entrés en effroy, ilz les appellerēt crians : *Antipola, Bonnason*, qui veut dire Frere, ami (comme là où nous avons demeuré *Nigmach*, & en autres endroits *Hirno*). A cette parole ilz s'approcherent : & reconoissans noz François que le premier étoit suivi de quatre qui tenoient la queue de son vetement de peau par derriere, ilz se douterent que c'étoit le *Paraousti*, & qu'il falloit aller au devant de lui. Ce *Paraousti* fit vne longue harangue tendant à ce que les nôtres allassent à sa cabane, & en signe d'amitié bailla sa robe, ou manteau de chamois, au conducteur de la troupe Française, nommé le sieur d'Ottigni. En passant quelque marecage, les Indiens portoient les nôtres sur leurs épaules. En fin arrivés, ilz furent receus avec beaucoup d'amitié, & virent vn vieillard pere de cinq generations, de l'âge duquel s'étans informés, ilz trouverent qu'il avoit environ trois cens ans. Au reste tout decharné, auquel ne paroissoient que les os : mais son fils ainé avoit mine de pouvoir vivre encore plus de trente ans. Pendant ces choses le Capitaine Laudonniere visita quelque môtagne où il trouva des Cedres, Palmiers, & Lauriers plus odorans que le baume : Item des vignes en telle quantité qu'elles suffiroient pour habiter le país : & outre ce, grande quantité d'Esquine entortillée à l'entour des arbrisseaux : Item des prairies entrecouppées en îles & ilettes le long de la riviere : chose fort agreable. Cela fait, il se partit de là pour aller à la riviere de Seine, distâte de la riviere de May d'environ quatre lieuës, puis à la riviere de Somme, là où il mit pied à terre, & fut fort humainement receu du *Paraousti*, homme haut, grave, & bien formé, comme aussi sa femme, & cinq filles qu'elle avoit d'une tres-agreable beauté. Cette

femme lui fit present de cinq boulettes d'argent, & le *Paraousti* lui bailla son arc & ses fleches, qui est vn signe entr'eux de confederation & alliance perpetuelle. Il voulut voir l'effect de nos arquebuses ; & comme il vit que cela faisoit vn trop plus grand effort que ses arcs & fleches, il en devint tout pensif, mais ne voulut faire semblant que cela l'étonnat.

Après avoir rodé la côte il fallut en fin penser de se loger. Conseil pris, on voyoit qu'au Cap de la Floride c'est vn país tout noyé ; au Port Royal c'est vn lieu fort agreable, mais non tant commode ni convenable qu'il leur étoit de 65 besoin, voulans planter vne colonie nouvelle. Partant trouverent meilleur de 81 s'arreter en la riviere de May, où le país est abundant non seulement en mil (que nous appellons autrement blé Sarrazin, d'Inde, ou de Turquie, ou du Mahis), mais aussi en or & argent. Ainsi le vint-neufième de Iuin, tournans la proué, s'en allerent vers ladite riviere, dans laquelle ilz choisirent vn lieu le plus agreable qu'ilz peurent, où ilz rendirent graces à Dieu, & se mirent à qui mieux mieux à travailler pour dresser vn Fort, & des habitations necessaires pour leurs logemens, aidez du *Paraousti* de cette riviere, dit *Satouriona*, lequel employa ses gens à recouvrer des palmites pour couvrir les granges & logis. Chose qui fut faite en diligence. Mais est notable qu'en cette contrée on ne peut bâtir à hauts étages, à-cause des vës impetueux auxquels elle est sujette. Je croy qu'elle participe aucunement de la violence du *Houragan*, duquel nous parlerons en autre endroit. La Forteresse achevée, on lui donna nom, LA CAROLINE, en l'honneur du Roy Charles, l'endroit de laquelle se pourra remarquer par la delineation que nous avons faite, & joindre ici du país que les François ont decouvert en la Floride.

66 *Navigation dans la riviere de May : Recit des Capitaines & Paraoustis qui sont dans les terres : Amour de vengeance : Ceremonie étrange des Indiens pour reduire en memoire la mort de leurs peres.*

CHAP. IX

82

QVAND le Capitaine Laudonniere partit de la riviere de May, pour tirer vers la riviere de Seine, il voulut sçavoir d'où procedoit vn lingot d'argent que le *Paraousti Satouriona* lui avoit donné : & lui fut dit que cela se conquetoit à force d'armes, quand les Floridiens alloient à la guerre contre vn certain *Paraousti* nommé *Timogona*, qui demouroit bien avant dans les terres. Partant, la Caroline achevée, le Capitaine Laudonniere ne voulut demeurer oisif, ains se ressouvenant dudit *Timogona*, il envoya son Lieutenant à-mont la riviere de May avec deux Indiens pour decouvrir le païs, & sçavoir sa demeure. Ayant cinglé environ vint lieuës, les Indiens, qui regardoient çà & là, decouvrirent trois *Almadies* (ou bateaux legers) & aussi-tot s'avancerent à crier *Timogona, Timogona*, & ne parlerent que de s'avancer pour les aller combattre, jusques à se vouloir jeter dans l'eau pour cet effet, car le Capitaine Laudonniere avoit promis à *Satouriona* de ruiner ce
 67 *Timogona* son ennemi. Le dessein des François n'étant de guerroyer ces peuples, ains plutôt de les reconcilier les vns avec les autres, le Lieutenant dudit Laudonniere (dit le sieur d'Ottigni) assura les Indiens qui étoient dans lédites *almadies*, & s'approchans il leur demanda s'ils avoient or, ou argent. A quoy ilz répondirent que non, mais que s'il vouloit envoyer quelqu'un des siens avec eux, ilz le meneroient en lieu où ils en pourroient recouvrer. Ce qui fut fait. Et cependant Ottigni s'en retourne. Quinze jours après, vn nommé le Capitaine Vasseur, accompagné d'un soldat, fut depeché pour aller sçavoir des nouvelles de celui que les Indiens avoient mené. Apres avoir monté la riviere
 83 deux jours, ils aperceurent deux Indiens joignant le rivage, qui étoient au guet pour surprendre quelqu'un de leurs ennemis. Ces Indiens se doutans de ce qui étoit, dirent à noz François que leur compagnon n'étoit point chés-eux, ains en la maison du *Paraousti Molona*, vassal d'un autre grand *Paraousti*, nommé *Olata Ouâé Outina*, où ilz leur donnerent adresse. Le *Paraousti Molona* traitta noz François honnetement à sa mode, & discourut de ses voisins, alliés & amis, entre léquels il en nomma neuf, *Cadecha, Chilili, Eclavou, Evacappe, Calanay, Onataquara, Omittaqua, Acquera, Moquosa*, tous léquels, & autres avec lui jusques au nombre de plus de quarante, il assura estre vassaux du tres-redouté *Olata Ouâé Outina*. Cela fait, il se mit semblablement à discourir des ennemis d'*Ouâé Outina*, au nombre déquels il mit comme le premier le *Paraousti Satouriona*, Capitaine
 68 des confins de la riviere de May, lequel a souz son obeïssance trente *Paraoustis*, dont il y en avoit dix qui tous étoient ses freres. Puis il en nomma trois autres non moins puissans que *Satouriona*. Le premier, *Potavou*, homme cruel en guerre,

mais pitoyable en l'exécution de sa furie. Car il prenoit les prisonniers à merci, content de les marquer sur le bras gauche d'un signe grand comme celui d'un cachet, lequel il imprimoit comme si le fer chaud y avoit passé, puis les renvoyoit sans leur faire autre mal. Les deux autres étoient nommés *Onathaqua* & *Houstaqua*, abondans en richesses, & principalement *Onathaqua*, habitant près les hautes montagnes, fécondes en beaucoup de singularités. Qui plus est, *Molona* recitoit que ses alliés vassaux du grand *Olata* s'armoient l'estomach, bras, cuisses, jambes & front avec larges platines d'or & d'argent, & que par ce moyen les fleches ne les pouvoient endommager. Lors le Capitaine Vasseur lui dit que quelque jour les François iroient en ce pays, & se joindroient avec son seigneur *Olata* pour deffaire tous ces gens là. Il fut fort réjoui de ce propos, & répondit que le moindre des *Paraoustis* qu'il avoit nommé, bailleroit au chef de ce secours
 84 la hauteur de deux piez d'or & d'argent qu'ils avoient ja conquis sur *Onathaqua* & *Houstaqua*. J'ay mis ces discours pour montrer que generalement tous ces peuples n'ont autre but, autre pensée, autre souci que la guerre, & ne leur sçauroit-on faire plus grand plaisir que de leur promettre assistance contre leurs ennemis.

Et pour mieux entretenir le desir de la vengeance, ils ont des façons étranges 69 & dures pour en faire garder la memoire à leurs enfans, ainsi que se peut voir par ce qui s'ensuit. Au retour du Capitaine Vasseur, icelui ne pouvant (contrarié du flot), arriver au gîte à la Caroline, il se retira chés un *Paraousti* qui demouroit à trois lieues de *Satouriona*, appelé *Molona* cômme l'autre duquel nous avons parlé. Ce *Molona* fut merveilleusement réjoui de la venue de nos François, cuidant qu'ils eussent leur barque pleine de têtes d'ennemis, & qu'ils ne fussent allés vers le pays de *Timogona* que pour le guerroyer. Ce que le Capitaine Vasseur entendant, lui fit à croire que de verité il n'y étoit allé à autre intention, mais que son entreprise ayant esté découverte, *Timogona* avoit gagné les bois, & neantmoins que lui & ses cōpagnons en avoient attrappé quelque nombre à la poursuite qui n'en avoient point porté les nouvelles chés eux. Le *Paraousti*, tout ravi de joye, pria le Vasseur de lui conter l'affaire tout au long. Et à l'instant un des cōpagnons dudit Vasseur tirant son espee, lui môtra par signes ce qu'il ne pouvoit de paroles; c'est qu'au trenchât d'icelle il en avoit fait passer deux qui fuyoient par les forêts, & que ses cōpagnons n'en avoient pas fait moins de leur côté. Que si leur entreprise n'eût esté découverte par *Timogona*, ilz l'eussent enlevé lui-même & saccagé tout le reste. A cette rodumontade le *Paraousti* ne sçavoit quelle contenance tenir de ioye qu'il avoit. Et sur ce propos un quidam print une javeline qui estoit fichée à la natte, & 70 comme furieux marchant à grand pas, alla frapper un Indien qui étoit assis en
 85 un lieu à l'écart, criant à haute voix *Hyou*, sans que le pauvre homme se remuat aucunement pour le coup que patiemment il montrait endurer. A peine avoit esté remise la javeline en son lieu, que le même la reprenant il en dechargea roidement un autre coup sur celui qu'il avoit ja frappé, s'écriant de même que devant *Hyou*, & peu de temps après le pauvre homme se laissa tomber à la renverse roidissant les bras & jambes, comme s'il eût esté prêt à rendre le dernier soupir. Et lors le plus jeune des enfans du *Paraousti* se mit aux pieds du renversé, pleurant amèrement. Peu après deux autres de ses freres firent le semblable. La mere vint encore avec grans cris & lamentations pleurer avec ses enfans. Et finalement arriva une troupe de jeunes filles qui ne cessèrent de pleurer un long espace de temps en la même compagnie. Et prindrent l'homme renversé & le porterent avec un triste geste en une autre cabane, & pleurerent là

deux heures : pendât quoy le *Paraousti* & ses camarades ne laisserent de boire de la casine, comme ils avoient commencé, mais en grand silence : Dequoy le Vasseur etonné n'entendant rien à ces ceremonies, il demanda au *Paraousti* que vouloient signifier ces choses, lequel lentement lui répondit : *Timogona, Timogona*, sans autres propos lui tenir. Fâché d'une si maigre réponse, il s'adresse à un autre qui lui dit de même, le suppliant de ne s'enquerir plus avant de ces choses, 71 & qu'il eût patience pour l'heure. A tant noz François sortirêt pour aller voir l'homme qu'on avoit transporté, lequel ilz trouverent accompagné du train que nous avôs dit, & les jeunes filles chauffans force mousse au lieu de linge dont elles lui frottoient le côté. Sur cela le *Paraousti* fut derechef interrogé comme dessus. Il fit réponse que cela n'étoit qu'une ceremonie par laquelle ilz remettoient en memoire la mort & persecution de leurs ancestres *Paraoustis*, faite par 86 leur ennemi *Timogona* : Allegant au surplus que toutes & quantes fois que quelqu'un d'entre-eux retournoit de ce pais-là sans rapporter les têtes de leurs ennemis, ou sans amener quelque prisonnier, il faisoit en perpetuelle memoire de ses predecesseurs, toucher le mieux aimé de tous ses enfans par les mêmes armes dont ils avoient été tués, afin que renouvelant la playe, la mort d'iceux fust derechef pleurée.

Guerre entre les Indiens : Ceremonies avant que d'y aller : Humanité envers les femmes & petits enfans : Leurs triomphes : Laudonniere demandant quelques prisonniers est refusé : Etrange accident de tonnerre : Simplicité des Indiens.

CHAP. X

A PRES ces choses le *Paraousti Satouriona* envoya vers le Capitaine Laudonniere sçavoir s'il vouloit continuer en la promesse qu'il lui avoit faite à son arrivée, d'être ami de ses amis, & ennemi de ses ennemis, & l'aider d'un bon nombre d'arquebusiers à l'exécution d'une entreprise qu'il faisoit contre *Timogona*. A quoy ledit Laudonniere fit réponse qu'il ne vouloit pour son amitié encourir l'inimitié de l'autre : & que, quand bien il le voudroit, il n'avoit pour lors moyen de le faire, d'autant qu'il étoit après à se munir de vivres & choses necessaires pour la conservation de son Fort : joint que ses barques n'étoient pas prêtes, & que s'il vouloit attendre deux lunes, il aviseroit de faire ce qu'il pourroit. Cette réponse ne lui fut gueres agreable, d'autant qu'il avoit ja ses vivres appareillés, & dix *Paraoustis* qui l'étoient venuz trouver, si bien qu'il ne pouvoit differer. Ainsi il s'en alla. Mais avant que s'embarquer il commanda que promptement on lui apportast de l'eau. Ce fait, jettant la veüe au ciel, il se mit à discourir de plusieurs choses en gestes, ne montrant rien en lui qu'une ardante colere. Il jettoit souvent son regard au Soleil, lui requerant victoire de ses ennemis : puis versa avec la main sur les têtes des *Paraoustis* partie de l'eau qu'il tenoit en un vaisseau, & le reste comme par furie & dépit dans un feu préparé là tout exprés, & lors il s'écria par trois fois, *Hé Timogona* : voulant signifier par telles ceremonies qu'il prioit le Soleil lui faire la grace de répandre le sang de ses ennemis, & aux *Paraoustis* de retourner avec les têtes d'iceux, qui est le seul & souverain triomphe de leurs victoires. Arrivé sur les terres ennemies, il ordonna avec son Conseil que cinq des *Paraoustis* iroient par la riviere avec la moitié des troupes, & se rendroient au point du jour à la porte de son ennemi : quant à lui il s'achemineroit avec le reste par les bois & forets le plus secretement qu'il pourroit : & qu'étans là arrivés au point du jour, on donneroit dedans le village, & tueroit-on tout, excepté les femmes & petits enfans. Ces choses furent executées comme elles avoient été arrêtées, & enleverent les têtes des morts. Quât aux prisonniers, ils en prindrent vingt-quatre, léquels ils emmenerent en leurs *almadies*, chantans des loüanges au Soleil, auquel ilz rapportoient l'honneur de leur victoire. Puis mirent les peaux des têtes au bout des javelots, & distribuerent les prisonniers à chacun des *Paraoustis*, en sorte que *Satouriona* en eut treze. Devant qu'arriver il envoya annoncer cette bône nouvelle à ceux qui étoient demeurés en la maison, léquels incontinent se prindrent à pleurer, mais la nuit venuë ilz se mirent à danser & faire la feste. Le lendemain *Satouriona* arrivant, fit planter devant sa porte toutes les têtes (c'est la peau enlevée avec les cheveux) de ses ennemis, &

les fit environner de branchages de laurier. Incontinent pleurs & gémissemens, léquels avenant la nuit, furent changés en danses.

Le Capitaine Laudonniere averti de ceci pria le *Paraousti Satouriona* de lui envoyer deux de ses prisonniers : ce qu'il refusa. Occasion que Laudonniere s'y en alla avec vingt soldats ; & entré, tint vne mine reffrongnée sans parler à *Satouriona*. En fin au bout de demie heure il demanda où étoient les prisonniers que lon avoit pris à *Timogona*, & commanda qu'ilz fussent amenés. Le 74 *Paraousti*, depité & étonné tout ensemble, fut long temps sans repondre. En fin il dit qu'étans épouvantez de la venuë des François, ils avoient pris la fuite par les bois. Le Capitaine Laudonniere, faisant semblant de ne le point entendre, demâda derechef les prisonniers. Lors *Satouriona* commanda à son fils de les chercher. Ce qu'il fit & les amena vne heure après. Ces pauvres gens voulans 89 se prosterner devant Laudonniere, il ne le souffrit, & les emmena au Fort. Le *Paraousti* ne fut gueres content de cette bravade, & songeoit les moyens de s'en venger, mais dissimulant son mal-talent, ne laissoit de lui envoyer des messages & presens. Laudonniere, homme accort, l'ayât remercié de ces courtoisies, lui fit sçavoir qu'il desiroit l'appointer avec *Timogona*, moyennant quoy il auroit passage ouvert pour aller contre *Onathaqua*, son ancien ennemi : & que ses forces jointes avec celles d'*Olata Ouâé Outina*, haut & puissant *Paraousti*, ilz pourroient ruiner tous leurs ennemis, & passer les confins des plus lointaines rivières meridionales. Ce que *Satouriona* fit semblant de trouver bon, suppliant ledit Laudonniere y tenir la main, & que de sa part il garderoit tout ce qu'en son nom il passeroit avec *Timogona*.

Après ces choses, il tomba à demie lieuë du fort des François vn foudre du Ciel tel qu'il n'en a jamais été veu de pareil, & partant sera bon d'en faire ici le recit pour clorre ce chapitre. Ce fut à la fin du mois d'Aoust, auquel temps jaçoit que les prairies fussent toutes vertes & arrousées d'eaux, si est-ce qu'en vn 75 instant ce foudre en cōsomma plus de cinq cens arpēs, & brula par sa chaleur ardâte tous les oiseaux des prairies : chose qui dura trois jours en feu & éclairs continuels. Ce qui dōnoit bien à pēser à noz Frâçois, non moins qu'aux Indiens, léquels pensans que ces tonnerres fussent coups de canons tirez sur eux par les nôtres, envoyèrent au Capitaine Laudonniere des harangueurs pour lui temoigner le desir que le *Paraousti Allicamani* avoit d'entretenir l'alliâce qu'il avoit avec lui, & d'être employé à son service : & pour-ce, qu'il trouvoit fort étrange la canōnade qu'il avoit fait tirer vers sa demeure, laquelle avoit fait bruler vne infinité de verdes prairies, & icelles cōsommées jusques dedans l'eau, approché même si près de sa maison qu'il pensoit qu'elle deut bruler : pour ce, le supplioit 90 de cesser, autrement qu'il seroit contraint d'abandonner sa terre. Laudonniere ayant entendu la folle opinion de cet homme, dissimula ce qu'il en pensoit, & repondit joyeusement qu'il avoit fait tirer ces canonnades pour la rebellion faite par *Allicamani*, quand il l'envoya sommer de lui envoyer les prisonniers qu'il detenoit du grand *Olata Ouâé Outina*, non qu'il eût envie de lui mal faire, mais s'étoit contenté de tirer jusques à mi-chemin, pour lui faire paroître sa puissance : l'assurant au reste que tant qu'il demeureroit en cette volonté de lui rendre obeissance, il lui seroit loyal defenseur cōtre tous ses ennemis. Les Indiens, contentez de cette réponse, retournerēt vers leur *Paraousti*, lequel nonobstant 76 l'assurance s'absenta de sa demeure l'espace de deux mois, & s'en alla à vingt-cinq lieuës de là.

Les trois jours expirés, le tonnerre cessa & l'ardeur s'éteignit du tout. Mais

és deux jours suivās il survint en l'air vne chaleur si excessive, que la riviere préque en bouilloit, & mourut vne si grande quantité de poissons & de tant d'especes, qu'en l'emboucheure de la riviere il s'en trouva de morts pour charger plus de cinquante chariots; dont s'ensuivit vne si grande putrefaction en l'air qu'elle causa force maladies contagieuses, & extremes maladies aux François, déquels toutefois, par la grace de Dieu, aucun ne mourut.

Renvoy des prisonniers Indiens à leur Capitaine : Guerre entre deux Capitaines Indiens : Victoire à l'aide des François : Conspiration contre Laudonniere : Retour du Capitaine Bourdet en France.

CHAP. XI

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LA fin pour laquelle le Capitaine Laudonniere avoit demandé les prisonniers à *Satouriona* étoit pour les renvoyer à *Ouaé Outina*, & par ce moyen pouvoir par son amitié plus facilement penetrer dans les terres. Ainsi le dixième Septembre s'étant embarqué le sieur d'Arlac, le Capitaine Vasseur, le Sergent & dix soldats, ilz navigerent jusques à quatre vints 77 lieues, bien receuz par tout, & en fin rendirent les prisonniers à *Outina*, lequel après bonne chere pria le sieur d'Arlac de l'assister à faire la guerre à vn de ses ennemis, nommé *Potavou*. Ce qu'il lui accorda, & renvoya le Vasseur avec cinq soldats. Or, pource que c'est la coutume des Indiens de guerroyer par surprise, *Outina* delibera de prèdre son ennemi à la Diane, & fit marcher ses gès toute la nuit en nombre de deux cens, léquels ne furèt point si mal avisez qu'ils ne priassent les arquebusiers François de se mettre en tête, afin (disoient-ilz) que le bruit de leurs arquebuses étonnat leurs ennemis. Toutefois ilz ne sceurent aller si subtilement que *Potavou* n'en fût averti, encores que distant de vint-cinq lieues de la demeure d'*Outina*. Ilz se mirent donc en bon devoir & sortirent en grande compagnie; mais se voyans chargez d'arquebusades (qui leur étoit chose nouvelle) & leur Capitaine du premier coup par terre d'un coup d'arquebuse qu'il eut au front tiré par le sieur d'Arlac, ilz quitterent la place: & les Indiens d'*Outina* prindrèt hommes, femmes & enfans prisonniers par le moyen de noz François, ayās toutefois perdu vn homme. Cela fait, le sieur d'Arlac s'en retourna, ayant receu d'*Outina* quelque argent & or, des peaux 92 peintes, & autres hardes, avec mille remercimens: & promit davantage fournir aux François trois cens hommes quand ils auroient affaire de lui.

Pendant que Laudonniere travailloit ainsi à acquerir des amis, voici des conspirations contre lui. Vn Perigourdin nommé la Roquette débaucha quelques 78 soldats, disant que par sa magie il avoit decouvert vne mine d'or ou d'argent à mont la riviere, de laquelle ilz devoient tous s'enrichir. Avec la Roquette y en avoit encore vn autre nommé le Genre, lequel pour mieux former la rebellion disoit que leur Capitaine les entretenoit au travail pour les frustrer de ce gain, & partant falloit élire vn autre Capitaine, & se depecher de cetui-ci. Le Genre lui-même porta la parole à Laudonniere du sujet de leur plainte. Laudonniere fit réponse qu'ilz ne pouvoient tous aller aux terres de la mine, & qu'avant partir il falloit rendre la Forteresse en defense contre les Indiens. Au reste, qu'il trouvoit fort étrange leur façon de proceder, & que s'il leur sembloit que le Roy n'eût fait la depense du voyage à autre fin que pour les enrichir de pleine arrivée, ilz se trompoient. Sur cette réponse ilz se mirent à travailler portans leurs armes

quant & eux en intention de tuer leur Capitaine s'il leur eût tenu quelques propos facheux, mêmes aussi son Lieutenant.

Le Genre (que Laudonniere tenoit pour son plus fidele) voyant que par voye de fait il ne pouvoit venir à bout de son mechant dessein, voulut tenter vne autre voye, & pria l'Apothicaire de mettre quelque poison dans certaine medecine que Laudonniere devoit prendre, ou lui bailler de l'arsenic ou [du]¹ sublimé, & que lui-même le mettroit dans son breuvage. Mais l'Apothicaire le renvoya éconduit de sa demande, comme aussi fit le maitre des artifices. Se voyant frustré de ses mauvais desseins, il resolut avec d'autres de cacher souz le lict dudit Laudonniere vn barillet de poudre à canon, & par une trainée [d']y mettre le feu. Sur ces entreprises, vn Gentil-hôme qu'iceluy Laudonniere avoit ja depeché 79 pour retourner en France, voulant prendre congé de lui, l'avertit que le Genre 93 l'avoit chargé d'un libelle farci de toutes sortes d'injures contre lui, son Lieutenant & tous les principaux de la compagnie. Au moyen dequoy il fit assembler tous ses soldats, & le Gentil-homme, nommé le Capitaine Bourdet, avec tous les siens (léquels dés le quatrième de Septembre étoient arrivés à la rade de la riviere) & fit lire en leur presence à haute voix le contenu au libelle diffamatoire, afin de faire conoitre à tous la mechanceté du Genre, lequel s'étant evadé dans les bois, demāda pardon au sieur Laudonniere, confessant par ses lettres qu'il avoit meritē la mort, se soumettant à sa misericorde. Cependant le Capitaine Bourdet se met à la voile le deuxième Novembre pour retourner en France; s'étant chargé de remener sept ou huit de ces seditieux, non compris le Genre, lequel il ne voulut, quoy qu'il lui offrit grande somme d'argent pour ce faire.

¹ Words in the square brackets have been omitted in the third edition; but are to be found in the edition of 1609.

Autres diverses conspirations contre le Capitaine Laudonniere : & ce qui en avint.

CHAP. XII

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80 **T**ROIS jours apres le depart du Capitaine Bourdet, Laudonniere, après avoir evadé vne conspiration, retombe en vne autre, voire en deux & en trois : la premiere pratiquée par quelques matelots que ce Capitaine Bourdet lui avoit laissés, léquels debauchèrent ceux dudit Laudonniere, au moyen de la proposition qu'ilz leur firent d'aller aux *Entilles* butiner quelque chose sur les Hespagnols, & que là y avoit moyen de se faire riches. Ainsi le Capitaine les ayans envoyé querir de la pierre & de la terre pour faire briques à vne lieuë & demie de Charle-fort, selon qu'ils avoient accoutumé, ilz s'en allerent tout à fait, & prindrent vne barque passagere d'Hespagnols près l'île de Cuba, en laquelle ilz trouverent quelque nombre d'or & d'argent qu'ilz saisirent : & avec ce butin tindrent quelque temps la mer jusques à ce que les vivres leur vindrent à faillir ; qui fut cause que, vaincuz de famine, ilz se rēdirent à la Havane, ville principale de l'île de Cuba, dont avint l'inconvenient que nous dirons ci-apres.

Qui pis est, deux Charpentiers Flamens que le même Bourdet avoit laissés, emmenerent vne autre barque qui restoit, de sorte que Laudonniere demeura sans barque ni bateau. Ie laisse à penser s'il estoit à son aise. La dessus il fait chercher ses larrons : il n'en a point de nouvelles. Il fit donc batir deux grandes barques, & vn petit bateau en toute diligence, & étoit la besongne ja fort avancée, quand l'avarice & l'ambition, meres de tous maux, s'enracinerent aux cœurs de quatre ou cinq soldats auxquels cet œuvre & travail ne plaisoit point.

81 Ces maraux commencerent à pratiquer les meilleurs de la troupe, leur 95 donnans à entendre que c'étoit chose vile & deshonnête à hommes de maison comme ils étoient de s'occuper ainsi à vn travail abject & mechainique, attendu qu'ilz pouvoient se rendre galans-hommes & riches s'ilz vouloient busquer fortune au Perou & aux *Entilles*, avec les deux barques qui se batissoient. Que si le fait étoit trouvé mauvais en France, ils auroient moyen de se retirer en Italie ou ailleurs, attendant que la colere se passeroit : puis il surviendroît quelque guerre qui feroit tout oublier. Ce mot de richesse sonna si bien aux oreilles de ces soldats, qu'en fin, après avoir bien consulté l'affaire, ilz se trouverent jusques au nombre de soixante-six, léquels prindrent pretexte de remonter à leur Capitaine le peu de vivres qui leur restoit pour se maintenir jusques à ce que les navires vinssent de France. Pour à quoy remedier leur sembloit necessaire de les envoyer à la Nouvelle-Hespagne, au Perou, & à toutes les îles circonvoisines, ce qu'ilz le supplioient leur vouloir permettre. Le Capitaine, qui se doutoit de ce qui étoit, & qui sçavoit le commandement que la Roynie lui avoit fait de ne faire tort aux sujets du Roy d'Hespagne, ne chose dont il peût concevoir jalousie, leur fit réponse que les barques achevées, il donneroit si bon ordre à

tout qu'ilz ne manqueroient point de vivres, joint qu'ils en avoient encore pour quatre mois. De cette réponse ilz firent semblant d'être contens. Mais huit jours après, voyans leur Capitaine malade, oublians tout honneur & devoir, ilz commencent de nouveau à rebattre le fer, & protestent de se saisir du corps de garde & du Fort, voire de violenter leur Capitaine s'il ne vouloit condes- 82
cendre à leur méchant desir.

Ainsi les cinq principaux auteurs de la sedition, armez de corps de cuirasse, la pistole au poing & le chien abattu, entrerent en sa chambre, disans qu'ilz vouloient aller à la nouvelle Hespagne chercher leur aventure. Le Capitaine leur remontra qu'ilz regardassent bien à ce qu'ilz vouloient faire. A quoy ilz 96
répondirent que tout y étoit regardé, & qu'il falloit leur accorder ce point, & ne restoit plus sinon de leur bailler les armes qu'il avoit en son pouvoir, de peur que (si vilainement outragé par eux) il ne s'en aidât à leur desavantage. Ce que ne leur ayant voulu accorder, ilz prindrent tout de force, & l'emporterent hors de sa maison: même apres avoir offensé vn Gentil-homme qui s'en formalisoit. Puis se saisirent dudit Capitaine, & l'envoyerent prisonnier en vn navire qui étoit à l'ancre au milieu de la riviere, où il fut quinze jours, assisté d'un homme seul, sans visite d'aucun: & desarmerent tous ceux qui tenoient son parti. En fin ilz lui envoyerent vn congé pour signer, lequel ayant refusé, ilz lui manderent que s'il ne le signoit ilz lui iroient couper la gorge. Ainsi contraint de signer leur congé, il leur bailla quelques mariniers avec vn pilote nommé Trenchant. Les barques parachevées, ilz les armerent des munitions du Roy, de poudres, de balles, & d'artillerie, & contraignirent le Vasseur leur livrer l'enseigne de son navire: puis s'en allerent en intention de faire voile en vn lieu 83
des *Entilles* nommé *Leaugave*, & y prendre terre la nuit de Noël, à fin de faire vn massacre & pillage pendant qu'on diroit la Messe de minuit. Mais comme Dieu n'est parmi telles gens, ils eurent de la division avant que partir, de sorte qu'ilz se separerent au sortir de la riviere, & ne se veirent qu'au bout de six semaines: pendant lequel temps l'une des barques print vn bergantin chargé de quelque nombre de *Cassava*, espece de pain de racine blanc & bon à manger, avec quelque peu de vin: & en cette conquête perdirent quatre hommes, sçavoir deux tués, & deux prisonniers: toutefois le bergantin leur demeura, & y transporterent vne bonne partie de leurs hardes. De là ilz resolurent d'aller à *Baracou*, village de l'île *Iamaïque*, où arrivés ilz trouverent vne caravelle de cinquante à soixante tonneaux, qu'ilz prindrent; & après avoir fait bonne 97
chere au village cinq ou six jours, ilz s'embarquerent dedans abandonnans leur seconde barque, & tirerent vers le cap de *Thibron*, où ilz rencontrerent vne patache qu'ilz prindrent de force après avoir longuement combattu. En cette patache fut pris le Gouverneur de la *Iamaïque*, avec beaucoup de richesses tant d'or & d'argent que de marchandises, déquelles noz seditieux ne se contentans, delibererent en chercher encore en leur caravelle, & tirerent vers la *Iamaïque*. Le Gouverneur, fin & accort, se voyant conduit au lieu où il demandoit & com-
mandoit, fit tant par ses douces paroles, que ceux qui l'avoient prins lui permirent 84
[de] mettre dans vne barquette deux petits garçons pris quant & lui, & les envoyer au village vers sa femme, à fin de l'avertir qu'elle eût à faire provisions de vivres pour les lui envoyer. Mais au lieu d'écrire à sa femme, il dit secrettement aux garçons qu'elle se mit en tout devoir de faire venir les vaisseaux des ports circonvoisins à son secours. Ce qu'elle fit si dextrement, qu'un matin à la pointe du jour, comme les seditieux se tenoient à l'embouchure du port, ilz

furent pris n'ayans peu découvrir les vaisseaux Hespagnols, tant pour l'obscurité du temps, que pour la longueur du port. Il est vray que les vint-cinq ou vint-six qui étoient au bergantin les apperceurent, mais ce fut quand ilz furent près, & n'ayans le loisir de lever les ancres, couperent le cable & s'enfuirent, & vindrent passer à la veuë de la *Havane* en l'île de Cuba. Or le pilote *Trenchant*, le trompette & quelques autres mariniers qui avoient été emmenez par force en ce voiage, ne desirās autre chose que s'en retourner vers leur Capitaine *Laudonniere*, s'accorderent ensemble de passer la traverse du canal de *Babame*, tandis que les seditieux dormiroient, s'ilz voyoient le vent à propos : ce qu'ilz firent si bien que le matin au point du jour environ le vint-cinquième de Mars, ilz se trouverent à la côte de la Floride, où conoissans le mal par eux commis, 98 ilz se mirent par maniere de moquerie à contrefaire les Juges (mais ce fut après vin boire), d'autres contrefaisoient les Advocats, vn autre concluoit disant, "Vous 85 ferez voz causes telles que bon vous semblera, mais si étans arrivés au Fort de la Caroline, le Capitaine ne vous fait tretous pendre, ie ne le tiendray iamais pour homme de bien." Leur voile ne fut pas plutôt découverte en la côte qu'un *Paraousti* nommé *Patica* en envoya avertir le Capitaine *Laudonniere*. Surce le brigantin affamé vint surgir à l'embouchure de la riviere de May, & par le commandement d'icelui Capitaine fut amené devant le Fort de la Caroline. Trente soldats lui furent envoyez pour prendre les quatre principaux autheurs de la sedition, auxquels on mit les fers aux piés, & à tous le Capitaine *Laudonniere* fit vne remontrance du service qu'ilz devoient au Roy, duquel ilz recevoient gages & de leur trop grande oubliance : adjoutant à ceci qu'ayans échappé la justice des hommes, ilz n'avoient peu éviter celle de Dieu. Après quoy les quatre enferrez furent condamnés à être pendus & étranglez. Et voyans qu'il n'y avoit point d'huis de derriere contre cet Arret, ilz se mirent en devoir de prier Dieu. Toutefois l'un des quatre pensant mutiner les soldats leur dit ainsi : "Comment, mes freres & compagnons, souffrirez-vous que nous mourions ainsi honteusement ?" A cela *Laudonniere*, prenant la parole, respondit qu'ilz n'étoient point compagnons de seditieux & rebelles au service du Roy. Neantmoins les soldats supplierent le Capitaine de les faire passer par les armes, & que puis après si bon luy sembloit les corps seroient penduz. Ce qui fut 86 executé. Voila l'issuë de leur mutinerie, laquelle je croy avoir été cause de la ruine des affaires des François en la Floride, & que les Hespagnols, irritez, les allerēt par-après forcer, quoy qu'il leur en ait coûté la vie. Ici est à remarquer qu'en toutes conquêtes nouvelles, soit en mer, soit en terre, les entreprises sont ordinairement troublées, étās les rebellions aisées à se lever, tāt par l'audace que donne aux soldats l'éloignemēt du secours que par l'esperoir qu'ils ont de faire 99 leur profit, cōme il se voit assez par les histoires anciennes, & par les hurtades avenües de nôtre siecle à *Christophe Colomb*, après sa premiere découverte : à *Francois Pezarre*, à *Diego d'Alimagre* au Perou, & à *Fernand Cortés*.

Ce que fit le Capitaine Laudonniere étant delivré de ses seditieux : Deux Hespagnols reduits à la vie des Sauvages : Les discours qu'ilz tindrent tant d'eux-mêmes que des peuples Indiens : Habitans de Serropé ravisseurs de filles : Indiens dissimulateurs.

CHAP. XIII

AYANT parlé de ces rebellions, il faut maintenant reprendre nos erres, & aller tirer de prison le Capitaine Laudonniere à l'ayde du sieur d'Ottigni son Lieutenant & de son Sergent, qui après le depart des mutins l'allerēt querir & le remenerent au Fort, là où arrivē, il assembla ce qui restoit, & leur remontra les fautes commises par ceux qui l'avoient abandonné, les priant l'un en souvenir pour en témoigner vn jour en tēps & lieu. Là dessus chacun promet bōne obeissance, à quoy ilz n'ont oncques 87 depuis failli, & travailloiet de courage, qui aux fortifications, qui aux barques, qui à autre chose. Les Indies le visitoiet souvent lui apportans des presens, comme poissons, cerfs, poules d'Inde, leopars, petits ours, & autres vivres qu'il recompensoit de quelques menuës marchandises. Vn jour il eut avis qu'en la maison d'un *Paraousti*, nommé *Onatbaga*, demurāt à quelque cinquāte lieues loin de la Caroline vers le Su, y avoit deux hōmes d'autre nation que de la leur: par promesse de recōpense il les fit chercher & amener. C'étoiet Hespagnols nuds, portās cheveux longs jusques aux jarrets, bref ne differās plus en riē des Sauvages. On leur coupa les cheveux, léquels ilz ne voulurent perdre, ains les envelopperent dans vn linge, disans qu'ilz les vouloiet reporter en leur païs, pour temoigner le mal qu'ils avoient enduré aux Indes. Aux 101 cheveux de l'un fut trouvé quelque peu d'or caché pour environ vint cinq escus, dont il fit present au Capitaine. Enquis de leur venue en ce païs-là, & des lieux où ilz pouvoient avoir été: ilz répondirēt qu'il y avoit dé-jā quinze ans passez que trois navires dans d'un déquels ils étoient, se perdirent au travers d'un lieu nommé *Calos*, sur les basses que l'on dit *Les Martyres*, & que le *Paraousti* de *Calos* retira la plus grande part des richesses qui y étoient, mais la plupart des hommes se sauva & plusieurs femmes, entre léquelles y avoit trois ou quatre Damoiselles mariées demeurātes encoir' & leurs enfās aussi, avec ce *Paraousti* de *Calos*: qui étoit puissant & riche, ayant une fosse de la hauteur d'un hōme & large comme vn tonneau, pleine d'or & d'argent, laquelle il étoit 88 fort aisé d'avoir avec quelque nōbre d'arquebuziers. Disoient aussi que les hommes & femmes es danses portoient à leurs ceintures des platines d'or larges comme vne assiette, la pesanteur déquelles leur faisoit empechement à la danse. Ce qui provenoit la plupart des navires Hespagnoles qui ordinairement se perdoient en ce detroit. Au reste que ce *Paraousti* pour être reveré de ses sujets leur faisoit à croire que ses sorts & charmes étoient cause des biens que la terre produisoit: & sacrifioit tous les ans vn homme au temps de la moisson, pris au nombre des Hespagnols qui par fortune s'étoient perdus en ce detroit.

L'un de ces Hespagnols cōtoit aussi qu'il avoit long temps servi de messenger à ce *Paraousti* de *Calos*, & avoit de sa part visité vn autre *Paraousti* nommé *Oatchagua*, demeurant à cinq journées loin de *Calos*: mais qu'au milieu du chemin y avoit vne ile située dans vn grād lac d'eau douce, appelée *Serropé*, grāde enviro de cinq lieuës, & fertile principalement en dates qui proviennent des palmes, dont ilz font vn merveilleux trafic, non toutefois si grād que d'une certaine racine propre à faire du pain, dont quinze lieuës alentour tout le païs est nourri. Ce qui apporte de grandes richesses aux habitans de l'ile; léquelz 102 d'ailleurs sont fort belliqueux, comme ils ont quelquefois témoigné enlevās la fille d'*Oatchagua* & ses compagnes, laquelle jeune fille il envoyoit au *Paraousti* 89 de *Calos* pour la lui donner en mariage. Ce qu'ilz reputent à vne glorieuse victoire, car ilz se marient puis après à ces filles, & les aiment éperduément.

Davantage comme le *Paraousti* *Satouriona* sans cesse importunat le Capitaine *Laudonniere* de se joindre avec lui pour parfaire la guerre à *Ouagé Outina*, disant que sans son respect il l'eût plusieurs fois deffait, & en fin eût accordé la paix: les deux Hespagnols, qui conoissoient le naturel des Indiens, donnerent avis de ne se point fier à eux, pource que quand ilz faisoient bon visage, c'étoit lors qu'ilz machinoient quelque trahison: & étoient les plus grands dissimulateurs du monde. Aussi ne s'y fioient noz François que bien à point.

Comme Laudonniere fait provision de vivres : Découverte d'un Lac grand à perte de veü. Montagne de la Mine : Avarice des Sauvages : Guerre : Victoire à l'aide des François.

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CHAP. XIV

LE mois de Janvier venu, le Capitaine n'étoit sans souci à cause des vivres qui tous les jours appetissoient : partant il envoyoit de tous côtez vers les *Paraoustis* ses amis, qui le secouroient. Entre autres la veuve du *Paraousti Hioacaia*, demeurante à douze lieuës du Fort des François, lui envoya deux barques pleines de mil & de glâd, avec quelques hottes pleines de feuilles de *Cassiné*, dequoy ilz font leur breuvage. Cette veuve étoit tenuë pour la plus belle de toutes les Indiennes, tant honorée de ses sujets, que la plupart du temps ilz la portoient sur leurs épaules, ne voulans qu'elle allât à pied. Il survint en ce temps-là vne telle manne de ramiers par l'espace d'environ sept semaines, que noz François en tuoïët chacun jour plus de deux cens par le bois. Ce qui ne leur venoit mal à point. Et comme il n'est pas bon de tenir vn peuple en oisiveté, le Capitaine employoit ses gens à visiter ses amis, & ce faisant, découvrir le dedans des terres, & acquérir toujours de nouveaux amis. Ainsi envoyant quelques-vns des siens à mont la riviere, ils allerent si avant qu'ilz furent bien trente lieuës au dessus d'un lieu nommé *Mathiaqua*, & là découvrirent l'entrée d'un Lac, à l'autre côté duquel ne se voyoit aucune terre, selon le rapport des Indîës, qui même bien souvent avoient monté sur les plus hauts arbres du pais pour voir la terre, sans la pouvoir découvrir. Et quand je considere ceci, & en fais vn rapport avec ce qu'écrivit Champlain au voyage qu'il fit en la grande riviere de *Canada* en l'an mille
 104 six cens trois, d'un grand lac qui est au commencement de cette riviere & d'où elle sort, lequel a trente journées de long, & au bout l'eau y est salée, étant douce au commencement; je suis préque induit à croire que c'est ici le même lac, & qui aboutit à la mer du Su. Toutefois, le même dit au rapport des Sauvages qu'en la riviere des Iroquois (qui se decharge en ladite riviere de *Canada*) y a deux lacs longs chacun de cinquante lieuës, & que du dernier sort vne riviere qui va descendre en la Floride à cent ou sept-vints lieuës d'icelui lac. Mais ceci n'étant encore bien averé, je m'arrête aussi-tôt à ma première conjecture.

Noz François ayans borné leur découverte à ce lac, ne pouvans passer outre, revindrent par les villages *Edelano*, *Eneguape*, *Chilili*, *Patica* & *Coya*, d'où ils allerent visiter le grand *Ouâé Outina*, lequel fit tant qu'il retint six de noz François, bien aise de les avoir près de lui. Avec la barque s'en retourna vn qui étoit demeuré là il y avoit plus de six mois, lequel rapporta que jamais il n'avoit vu vn plus beau pais. Entre autres choses, qu'il avoit vu vn lieu nommé *Hostaqua*, d'où le *Paraousti* étoit si puissant, qu'il pouvoit mettre trois ou quatre mille Sauvages en campagne, avec lequel si les François se vouloient entendre, ils assujettiroient

tout le païs en leur obeïssance : & possederoient la montagne de *Palassi*, au pied de laquelle sort vn ruisseau, où les Sauvages puisent l'eau avec vne cane de roseau creuse & seche jusques à ce que la cane soit remplie, puis ilz la secoïent, & 105 trouvent que parmi le sable y a force grains de cuivre & d'argent.

En ces quartiers avoit demeuré fort long tēps vn François nommé Pierre Gambia, pour apprendre les langues, & trafiquer avec les Indiens, & comme il retournoit à la Caroline conduit dans vn *Canoa* (petit bateau tout d'une piece) par deux Sauvages, ilz le tuerent pour avoir quelque quantité d'or & d'argent qu'il avoit amassé.

92 Quelques jours après, le *Paraousti Outina* demanda des forces aux François pour guerroyer son ennemi *Potavou*, afin d'aller aux montagnes sans empechement. Sur-ce conseil pris, le Capitaine lui envoya trente arquebuziers, quoy qu'*Outina* n'en eût demandé que neuf ou dix (car il se faut deffier de ce peuple), léquels arrivés, on charge de vivres femmes, enfans & hermaphrodites, dont y a quantité en ce païs-là. Ne pouvans arriver en vn jour vers *Potavou*, ilz cāpent dans les bois, & se partissent six à six, faisans des feuz alentour du lieu où est couché le *Paraousti*, pour la garde duquel sont ordonnez certains archers, auxquels il se fie le plus. Le jour venu, ils arrivent près d'un lac où, découvrans quelques pêcheurs, ilz ne passerent outre (car ilz ne font point la pecherie sans avoir nombre de sentinelles au guet). En fin, pensans les surprendre, ilz n'en peurent attraper qu'un, lequel fut tué à coups de fleches, & tout mort les Sauvages le tirerent à bord, & lui enleverent la peau de la tête, & lui couperent les deux bras, reservans les cheveux pour en faire des triôphes. *Outina* se voyant découvert, consulta son *Iarva*, c'est à dire Magicien, lequel apres avoir fait quelques signes hideux à voir, & prononcé quelques paroles, dit à *Outina* qu'il n'étoit pas bon de passer outre, & que *Potavou* l'attendoit avec deux mille hommes, léquels étoient tous fournis de cordes pour lier les prisonniers qu'il s'asseuroit prendre. Cette réponse ouïe, *Outina* ne voulut passer outre. 106 Dequoy le sieur d'Ottigni fâché, dit qu'on lui donnat vn guide, & qu'il les 93 vouloit aller attaquer avec sa petite troupe. *Outina* eut hôte de ceci, & voyant ce bon courage, delibera de tenter la fortune. Ilz ne faillirent pas de trouver l'ennemy au lieu où le Magicien avoit dit, & là se fit l'écarmouche, qui dura bien trois grosses heures : en laquelle veritablement *Outina* eût été deffait, sans les arquebuziers François qui porterēt tout le faix du combat, & tuerent vn grand nombre des soldats de *Potavou*, qui fut cause de les mettre en route. *Outina* se contentant de cela, fit retirer ses gens, au grand mécontentement du sieur d'Ottigni, qui desiroit fort de poursuivre la victoire. Apres qu'*Outina* fut arrivé en sa maison, il envoya ses messagers à dixhuict ou vint *Paraoustis* de ses vassaux, les avertir de se trouver aux fêtes & danses qu'il entendoit celebrer à cause de sa victoire. Cela fait, Ottigni s'en retourne, lui laissant douze hommes pour son assurance.

*Grande nécessité de vivres entre les François accrue jusques à vne extreme famine :
Guerre pour avoir la vie : Prise d'Outina : Combat des François contre les
Sauvages : Façon de combattre d'iceux Sauvages.*

CHAP. XV

NOZ François Floridiens avoient eu promesse de rafraichissement & secours dans la fin du mois d'Avril. Cet espoir fut cause qu'ilz ne se donnoient gueres de peine de bien ménager leurs vivres, qui leur 94 étoient également distribuez par l'ordonnance du Capitaine, autant au plus petit qu'à lui-même: Or n'en pouvoient ilz plus recouvrer du país, par-ce que durant les mois de Janvier, Février, & Mars, les Indiens quittent leurs maisons, & vont à la chasse par le vague des bois. Cela fut cause que le mois de May venu sans qu'il arrivat rien de France, ilz se trouverent en nécessité de vivres jusques à courir aux racines de la terre, & à quelques ozeilles qu'ilz trouvoient par les bois & les champs. Car ores que les Sauvages fussent de retour, ayans au-paravant troqué leur mil, fèves & fruits pour de la marchandise, ilz ne donnoient aucun secours que de poisson, sans quoy veritablement les nôtres fussent morts de faim. Cette famine dura six semaines, pendant lequel temps ilz ne pouvoient travailler, & s'en alloient tous les jours sur le haut d'une môtagne en sentinelle, voir s'ilz découvroient point quelque vaisseau François. En fin, frustrez de leur esperance, ilz s'assemblent & prient le Capitaine de donner ordre au retour, & qu'il ne falloit laisser passer la saison. Il n'y avoit point de navire capable de les recevoir tous, si bien qu'il en falloit bâtir vn. Les charpentiers appelez promirent qu'en leur fournissant les choses necessaires ilz le rendroient parfait dans le huitième d'Aoust. Là dessus chacun au travail: il ne restoit qu'à trouver des vivres. Ce que le Capitaine entreprit faire avec quelques-vns de ses gens & les matelots. Pour 108 quoy accomplir il s'embarque sur la riviere sans aucuns vivres, pour en aller chercher, se sustentant seulement de framboises, & d'une certaine graine petite & 95 ronde, & de racines de palmistes qui étoient es côtes de cette riviere, en laquelle après avoir navigé en vain, il fut contraint de retourner au Fort, où les soldats, commençans à s'ennuyer du travail, à cause de l'extrême famine qui les pressoit, proposerent, pour le remede de leur vie, de se saisir d'un des *Paraoustis*. Ce que le Capitaine ne voulut faire du commencement, ains les envoya avertir de leur nécessité, & les prier de leur bailler des vivres pour de la marchandise; ce qu'ilz firent l'espace de quelques jours qu'ils apportèrent du gland & du poisson, mais les Indiens reconnoissans la nécessité des François, ilz vendoient si chèrement leurs denrées qu'en moins de rien ilz leur tirèrent toute la marchandise qu'ils avoient de reste. Qui pis est, craignans d'être forcés, ilz n'approcherent plus du Fort que de la portée d'une arquebuse. Là les soldats alloient tout extenués & le plus souvent se depouilloient de leurs chemises pour avoir vn poisson. Que si quelquefois ilz remontoient le prix excessif, ces méchans repondoient

brusquemēt : Si tu fais si grand cas de ta marchandise, mange-la, & nous mangerōs nôtre poisson ; puis ilz s'éclatoïēt de rire & se mocquoïēt d'eux : Ce que les soldats ne pouvans souffrir, avoient envie de leur en faire payer la folle enchere, mais le Capitaine les appaisoit au mieux qu'il pouvoit. A la parfin il s'avisa d'envoyer vers *Outina* le prier de le secourir de gland & de mil. Ce qu'il fit assez petitemēt, & en lui baillant deux fois autant que la marchandise 96 valoit. Sur ces entrefaites se presenta quelque occasion de respirer sur ce qu'*Outina* manda qu'il vouloit faire prendre & chatier vn *Paraousti* de ses sujets, lequel avoit des vivres : & que si on le vouloit aider de quelques forces, il conduiroit les François au village de cetui-là. Ce que fit le Capitaine Laudonniere, mais arrivez vers *Outina*, il les fit marcher contre ses autres ennemis. Ce qui depleut au sieur d'Ottigni, conducteur de l'œuvre, & eut mis *Outina* en pieces sans le respect de son Capitaine. Cette moquerie rapportée au Fort de la 109 Caroline, les soldats r'entrent en leur premiere deliberation de punir l'audace & mechanceté des Sauvages, & prendre vn de leurs *Paraoustis* prisonnier. Laudonniere, comme forcé à ceci, en voulut être le conducteur, & s'embarquerent cinquante des meilleurs soldats en deux barques cinglans vers le païs d'*Outina*, lequel ilz prindrent prisonnier, ce qui ne fut sans grands cris & lamentations des siens, mais on leur dit que ce n'étoit pour lui faire mal, ains pour recouvrer des vivres par son moyen. Le lēdemain cinq ou six cens Archers Indiens vindrent annoncer que leur ennemi *Potavou*, averti de la capture de leur *Paraousti*, étoit entré en leur village, éloigné de six lieuës de la riviere, & avoit tout brulé, & partant prioient les François de le secourir. Cependant ilz voyoient des gens en embuscade en intention de les charger s'ilz fussent descendus à terre. Se voyans découverts, ilz envoyerent quelque peu de vivres. Et mesurans les François à leur cruauté, qui est de faire mourir tous les prisonniers qu'ilz 97 tiennent, & partant desesperans de la liberté d'*Outina*, ilz procederent à l'élection d'un nouveau *Paraousti*, mais le beau-pere d'*Outina* éleva dessus le siege Royal (pour vser de nôtre mot) l'un des petits enfans d'icelui *Outina*, & fit tant que par la pluralité des voix l'honneur lui fut rendu d'un chacun. Ce qui fut préque cause de grands troubles entre-eux. Car il y avoit le parent d'un *Paraousti* voisin de là qui y pretendoit, & avoit beaucoup de voix entre ce peuple. Cependant *Outina* demouroit prisonnier avec un sien fils ; & entendu par ses sujets le bon traitement qu'on luy faisoit, ilz le vindrent visiter avec quelques vivres. Les ennemis d'*Outina* ne dormoient point, & venoient de toutes parts pour le voir, s'efforçans de persuader à Laudonniere qu'il le fist mourir, & qu'il ne manqueroit de vivres, même *Satouriona*, lequel envoya plusieurs fois des presens de victuailles pour l'avoir en sa puissance, dont se voyant éconduit, il se desista d'y plus pretendre. La famine ce-pendant pressoit de plus en plus : car il ne se 110 trouvoit ni mil, ni fèves par tout, ayāt été employé ce qui restoit aux semailles : & fut si grande la disette, qu'on faisoit bouillir & piler dans un mortier des racines pour en faire du pain : même un soldat ramassa dans les balieures toutes les arrêtes de poisson qu'il peut trouver, & les mit secher pour les mieux briser, & en faire aussi du pain, si bien qu'à la pluspart les os perçoïēt la peau ; même la riviere étoit en sterilité de poissons : & en cette deffailance il étoit difficile de se deffendre si les Sauvages eussent fait quelque effort.

98 En ce desespoir vint sur le commencement de Juin un avis des Indiens voisins, qu'au haut païs de la riviere y avoit du mil nouveau. Laudonniere y alla avec quelques-uns des siens, & trouva qu'il étoit vray. Mais d'un bien

avint vn mal : Car la plupart de ses soldats, pour en avoir plus mangé que leur estomac n'en pouvoit cuire, en furent fort malades. Et de verité il y avoit quatre jours qu'ilz n'avoient mangé que de petits pinocs (fruits verts qui croissent parmi les herbes des rivieres, & sont gros comme cerises) & quelque peu de poisson.

De là il s'achemina pour aller surprendre le *Paraousti* d'*Edelano*, lequel avoit fait tuer vn de ses hômes, pour avoir son or, mais le *Paraousti* en eut le vêt, & gagna aux piés avec tout son peuple. Les soldats François brulèrent le village, qui fut vne maigre vengeance : car en vne heure ce peuple aura bati vne nouvelle maison. Arrivé à la Caroline, les pauvres soldats & ouvriers affamez ne prindrent le loisir d'egrener le mil qui leur fut distribué, ains le mangerent en épic. Et est chose étrange qu'il faut garder les champs en ce pais-là, depuis que les blés (ou mils) viennent à maturité, non seulement à cause des mulots, mais aussi des larrons, ainsi qu'on fait pardeça les raisins en temps de vendange. Ce que ne sçachans deux charpentiers François, ilz furent tuez pour
 111 en avoir cuilli vn peu. La canne, ou tuyau de ce mil, est si douce & sucrée, que les petits animaux de la terre la mangent bien souvent par le pied, comme il m'est venu en ayant semé en nôtre voyage fait avec le sieur de Poutrincourt. 99

Ainsi que ces choses se passoient, deux des sujets d'*Outina* & vn hermaprodite apporterent nouvelles que dés-ja les mils étoient meurs en leur terroir. Ce qui fut cause qu'*Outina* en promit & des fèves à foison si on le vouloit remener. Conseil pris, sa requête lui fut accordée, mais sans fruit, car étans près de son village, on y envoya, & ne s'y trouva personne ; toutefois son beau-père & sa femme en étans avertis, vindrent aux barques Françaises avec du pain, & entretenans d'esperance le Capitaine, tachoient de le surprendre. En fin, se voyans découverts, dirent ouvertement que les grains n'étoient encores meurs. De maniere qu'il fallut remener *Outina*, lequel pensa être tué par les soldats, voyans la méchanceté de ces Indiens.

Quinze jours après, *Outina* pria derechef le Capitaine de le remener, s'asseurant que ses sujets ne feroient difficulté de bailler des vivres, & que le mil étoit meur : & en cas de refus, qu'on fit de lui tout ce qu'on voudroit. Laudonniere en personne le conduisit jusqu'à la petite riviere, qui venoit de son village. On envoya *Outina* avec quelques soldats moyennant otages, qui furent mis à la chéne, craignant l'évasion. Sur ces divers pourparlers, Otignî avec sa troupe s'en alla en la grande maison d'*Outina*, où les principaux du pais se trouverent : & pendant qu'ilz faisoient couler le temps, ils amassoient des hommes, puis se plaignoient que les François tenoient leurs meches allumées, demandans qu'elles fussent éteintes, 100 & qu'ilz quitteroient leurs arcs : ce qui ne leur fut accordé. *Outina* cependant demouroit clos & couvert, & ne se trouvoit point és assemblées. Et comme on se plaignoit à lui de tant de longueurs, il répondit qu'il ne pouvoit empêcher ses sujets de guerroyer les François, qu'il avoit veu par les chemins des fleches
 112 plantées, au bout déquelles y avoit des cheveux longs, signe certain de guerre denoncée & ouverte : & que pour l'amitié qu'il portoit aux François, il les avertissoit que ses sujets avoient delibéré de mettre des arbres au travers de la petite riviere, pour arrêter là leurs barques, & les combattre à l'aise. Là dessus on ouït la voix d'un François qui avoit préque toujours été parmi les Indiens, lequel crioit pourautant qu'on le vouloit porter dans le bois pour l'égorger, dont il fut secouru & delivré. Toutes ces choses considérées, le Capitaine arrêta de se retirer le 27. de Juillet. Parquoy il fit mettre ses soldats en ordre, & leur

bailla à chacun vn sac de mil : puis s'achemina vers les barques, cuidant prevenir l'entreprise des Sauvages. Mais il rencontra au bout d'une allée d'arbres de deux à trois cens Indiens, qui les saluèrent d'une infinité de traits bien furieusement. Cet effort fut vaillamment soutenu par l'Enseigne de Laudonniere, si bien que ceux qui tomberent morts modererent vn peu la colere des survivans. Cela fait, les nôtres poursuivirēt leur chemin en bon ordre pour gagner pais. Mais au bout de quatre cens pas ilz furent rechargés d'une nouvelle troupe de
 101 Sauvages en nombre de trois cens, qui les assaillirent en front, ce-pendant que le reste des precedens leur donnoient en queue. Ce second assaut fut soutenu avec tant de valeur qu'il est possible par le sieur d'Ottigni. Et bien en fut besoin étans si petit nombre contre tant de barbares qui n'ont autre étude que la guerre.

Leur façon de combattre étoit telle, que quā deux cens avoient tiré, ilz se retiroient & faisoient place aux autres qui étoient derriere : & avoient ce-pendant le pied & l'œil si prompts, qu'aussi-tôt qu'ilz voyoient coucher l'arquebuzé en joué, aussi-tôt étoient-ils en terre, & aussi-tôt relevez pour répondre de l'arc, & se détourner si d'aventure ilz sentoient que l'on voulût venir aux prises : car il n'y a rien que plus ilz craignent, à cause des dagues & des épées. Ce combat dura depuis neuf heures du matin jusques à ce que la nuit les separa. Et n'eût
 113 été qu'Ottigni s'avisait de faire rompre les flèches qu'ilz trouvoient par les chemins, il n'y a point de doute qu'il eût eu beaucoup d'affaires : car les flèches, par ce moien, deffaillirent aux barbares, & furent contraints se retirer. La reveuë faite, se trouva faute de deux hommes qui avoient été tués, & vint-deux y en avoit de navrez, léquels à peine peurent être conduits jusques aux barques. Tout ce qui se trouva de mil ne fut que la charge de deux hommes, qui fut distribué également. Car lors que le combat avoit commencé, chacun fut contraint de quitter son sac pour se deffendre.

Voila comme pour la vie on est contraint de rompre les plus étroites amitez.
 102 La pestilence (disoit vn Ancien¹), est chose heureuse, le carnage d'une bataille perduë chose heureuse, bref, toute sorte de mort est aisée : mais la cruele faim epuise la vie, saisit les entrailles, tourment de l'esprit, dessechement du corps, maitresse de transgression, la plus dure de toutes les necessitez, le plus difforme de tous les maux, la peine la plus intolerable qui soit même aux enfers. Ce fut vne pauvre providence aux Frâçois de porter des vivres si écharcement qu'il n'y en eût que pour vne chetive année. Et puis qu'on vouloit habiter en la province, & qu'on la tenoit pour bonne, & de bon rapport, il falloit tout d'un coup se pourvoir de vivres pour deux ou trois ans, puis que le Roy embrassoit cet affaire ; & s'addonner courageusement à la culture de la terre, ayans l'amitié du peuple. Les accidens de mer sont si journaliers, qu'il est difficile d'executer les promesses à point nommé, quand bien on auroit bonne volonté de ce faire. Noz voyages, graces à Dieu, n'ont point esté reduits à cette misere, ny en ont approché. Et quand telle disgrâce nous fût arrivée en nôtre Port Royal, les rives d'icelui sont en tout temps remplies de coquillages, comme de moules, coques & palourdes, qui ne manquent point au plus long & plus rigoureux hiver.

¹ Quintil., en la declam. 12.

Provisions de mil : Arrivée de quatre navires Angloises : Reception du Capitaine 103
Et general Anglois : Humanité Et courtoisie d'icelui envers les François.

ARES que Laudonniere eut rendu & fait rendre graces à Dieu de la delivrance de ses gens, se voyant frustré de ce côté, il fit diligence de trouver des vivres d'ailleurs. Et de fait en trouva quantité à l'autre part de la riviere, aux villages de *Saranaï* & d'*Emoloa*. Il envoya aussi vers la riviere de Somme, dite par les Sauvages *Ircana*, où le Capitaine Vasseur & son Sergent allerent avec deux barques, & y trouverent vne grande assemblée des *Paraoustis* du païs, entre léquels étoit *Athore*, fils de *Satouriona*, *Apalou*, & *Tacadocorou*, assemblez là pour se rejouir, pource qu'il y a de belles femmes & filles. Noz François leur firent des presens; en contre-change dequoy leurs barques furent incontinent chargées de mil. Se voyans honétémēt pourvez de vivres, ilz diligenterent au parachevement des vaisseaux pour retourner en France, & cōmencerēt à ruiner ce qu'avec beaucoup de peines ils avoient bati. Ce-pendant il n'y avoit celui qui n'eût vn extreme regret d'abandoner vn païs de verité fort riche & de bel espoir, auquel il avoit tāt endure pour découvrir ce que par la propre faute des nôtres il falloit laisser. 104 Car si, en temps & lieu, on leur eût tenu promesse, la guerre ne se fût meüē alencontre d'*Outina*, le quel & autres ils avoient entretenus en amitié avec beaucoup de peines, & n'avoient encore perdu leur alliance, nonobstant ce qui s'étoit passé.

Comme vn chacun discouroit de ces choses en son esprit, voici paroître quatre voiles en mer le troisieme jour d'Aoust, dont ilz furent épris d'excessive 115 joye melée de crainte tout ensemble. Après que ces navires eurent moüillé l'ancre, ilz découvrirent comme ils envoyoient vne de leurs barques en terre, surquoy Laudonniere fit armer en diligence l'vne des siennes pour envoyer au-devant, & sçavoir quelles gens c'étoient. Ce-pendant, de crainte que ce ne fussent Hespagnols, il fit mettre ses soldats en ordre, & les tenir prêts. La barque retournée, il eut avis que c'étoient Anglois, & avec eux vn Dieppois, lequel au nom du general Anglois vint prier Laudonniere de permettre qu'ilz prinssent des eaux, dont ils avoient grande necessité, faisans entendre qu'il y avoit plus de quinze jours qu'ilz rodoient le long de la côte sans en pouvoir trouver. Ce Diepois apporta deux flacons de vin avec du pain de froment, qui furent departis à la plupart de la compagnie. Chacun peut penser si cela leur apporta de la rejoissance. Car le Capitaine même n'avoit point beu de vin il y avoit plus de sept mois. La requeste de l'Anglois accordée, il vint trouver Lau- 105 donniere dans vne grande barque accompagné de ses gens honorablement vétuz, toutefois sans armes: & fit apporter grande quantité de pain & de vin pour en donner à vn chacun. Le Capitaine ne s'oublia à lui faire la meilleure chere qu'il pouvoit. Et à cette occasion fit tuer quelques moutons & poules qu'il

avoit jusques alors soigneusemēt gardez, esperant en peupler la terre. Car pour toutes sortes de maladies & de necessitez qui lui fussent survenues, il n'avoit voulu qu'un seul poulet fut tué. Ce qui fut cause qu'en peu de temps il en avoit amassé plus de cent chefs.

Or ce-pendant que le general Anglois étoit là trois jours se passerent, pendant léquels les Indiens abordoient de tous côtez pour le voir, demandans à Laudonniere si c'étoit pas son frere, ce qu'il leur accordoit : & adjoutoit qu'il l'étoit venu secourir avec si grande quantité de vivres, que de là en avant il se pourroit bien passer de prendre aucune chose d'eux. Le bruit incontinent en fut épandu par toute la terre, si bien que les ambassadeurs venoient de tous côtez 116 pour traiter alliance au nom de leurs maitres avec lui, & ceux mêmes qui par-avant avoient envie de lui faire la guerre se declar[er]ent ses amis & serviteurs : à quoy ilz furent receuz. Le general conut incontinent l'envie & la necessité qu'avoient les François de retourner en France : & pource il offrit de les passer tous. Ce que Laudonniere ne voulut, étant en doute pour quelle raison il s'offroit si liberalement, & ne sçachant en quel état étoient les affaires de France avec les Anglois : & craignant encore qu'il ne voulut attenter quelque chose en 106 la Floride au nom de sa maitresse, la Roine d'Angleterre. Parquoy il fut refusé tout à plat : dont s'éleva un grand murmur entre les soldats, léquels disoient que leur Capitaine avoit envie de les faire tous mourir. Ilz vindrent donc trouver le Capitaine en sa chābre, & lui firent entēdre leur dessein, qui étoit de ne refuser l'occasiō. Laudonniere ayāt demādē une heure de temps pour leur répōdre, amassa les principaux de sa cōpagnie, léquels (après cōmunication) répon-dirēt tous d'une voix qu'il ne devoit refuser la commodité qui se presentoit, & qu'étans delaissés il étoit loisible de se servir des moyens que Dieu avoit envoyés.

Ils acheterent donc un des navires de l'Anglois à prix honeste, pour la somme de sept cens escus, & luy baillerent partie de leurs canons & poudres en gage. Ce marché ainsi fait, il considera la necessité des François, qui n'avoient pour toute nourriture que du mil & de l'eau : dont émeu de pitié il s'offrit de les aider de vingt barriques de farine, six pipes de fèves, un poinson de sel, & un quintal de cire pour faire de la chandele. Or pourautant qu'il voyoit les pauvres soldats piés nuds, il offrit encores cinquante paires de souliers. Ce qui fut accepté, & accordé de prix avec lui. Et particulièrement encore il fit present au Capitaine d'une jare d'huile, d'une jare de vinaigre, d'un baril d'olives, d'une assez grande quantité de ris, & d'un baril de biscuit blanc. Et fit encore plusieurs autres presens aux principaux officiers de la compagnie selon leurs 117 qualitez : Somme, il ne se peut exprimer au monde plus grande courtoisie que celle de cet Anglois, appellé maitre Jean Havvkins, duquel si i'oubliois le nom, 107 ie penserois avoir contre lui commis ingratitude.

Incontinent qu'il fut parti, on fait diligence de se fournir de biscuit, au moyen des farines que les Anglois avoient laissées, on relie les futailles necessaires pour les provisions d'eau. Ce qui fut d'autant plutôt expédié que le desir de retourner en France fournissoit à un chacun de courage. Etans prêts de faire voile, il fut avisé de mener en France quelques beaux Indiens & Indiennes, à fin que si derechef le voyage s'entreprenoit ilz peussent raconter à leurs *Paraoustis* la grādeur de nos Rois, l'excellence de nos Princes, la bonté de notre païs, & la façon de vivre des François. A quoy le Capitaine avoit fort bien pourveu, si les affaires ne se fussent ruinées, comme il sera dit aux chapitres prochainement suivans.

Preparation du Capitaine Laudonniere pour retourner en France : Arrivée du Capitaine Jean Ribaut : Calomnies contre Laudonniere : Navires Hespagnoles ennemies : Deliberation sur leur venuë.

CHAP. XVII

ON n'attendoit plus que le vent & la marée, léquels se trouverent propres le vint-huitième jour du mois d'Aoust, quād (sur le point de la sortie) voici que les Capitaines Vasseur & Verdier commencerent à decouvrir des voiles en la mer, dont ils avertirent leur general 108

Laudonniere: surquoy il ordōna de biē armer vne barque pour aller decouvrir & reconoitre quelles gēs c'étoiet, & ce-pendāt fit mettre les siēs en ordre & en tel équipage que si c'eussent etē ennemis: enquoy le tēps apporta sujet de doute: car ses gēs étoiet arrivez vers le vaisseau à deux heures apres midi, & n'avoient fait sçavoir aucunes nouvelles de tout le jour. Le lendemain au matin entrerent en la riviere environ sept barques (entre léquelles étoit celle qu'avoit envoyé Laudonniere) chargées de soldats, tous ayans l'arquebuse & le morion en tête, & marchoient lédites barques toutes en bataille le long des côtaux où étoient quelques sentinelles Françoises, auxquelles ilz ne voulurent donner aucune répōse, nonobstant toutes les demādes qu'on leur fit: tellement que l'vne dēdites sentinelles fut cōtrainte leur tirer vne arquebuzade, sans toutefois les assener à cause de la trop grande distance. Laudonniere pēsant que ce fussent ennemis fit dresser deux pieces de campagne, qui lui étoient restées: De façon que si approchans du Fort ilz n'eussent crié que c'étoit le Capitaine Ribaut, il n'eût failli à leur faire tirer la volée. La cause pour laquelle ledit Capitaine étoit venu de cette façon étoit pource qu'on avoit fait des rapports en France que Laudonniere trenchoit du grand & du Roy, & qu'à grand' peine pourroit-il endurer qu'un autre que lui entrât au Chateau de la Caroline pour y commander.

119 Ce qui étoit calomnieux. Etant donc fait certain que c'étoit le Capitaine Ribaut, il sortit du Fort pour aller au-devant de lui, & lui rendre tous les honneurs qu'il lui étoit possible. Il le fit saluër par vne gentille sclopeterie de 109 ses arquebuziers, à laquelle il répondit de même. La jouissance fut telle que chacun se peut facilement imaginer. Sur les faux rapports susdits, le Capitaine Ribaut vouloit arrêter Laudonniere pour demeurer là avec lui, disant qu'il écriroit en France, & feroit évanouir tous ces bruits. Laudonniere dit qu'il ne lui seroit point honorable de faire telle chose, d'être inferieur en un lieu où il auroit commandé en chef, & où il auroit enduré tant de maux. Et que lui-même Ribaut, mettant la main à la conscience, ne lui conseileroit point cela. Plusieurs autres propos furent tenus tant avec ledit Ribaut qu'avec sa compagnie, & répondu par Laudonniere aux calomnies qu'on lui avoit mis sus en Court, mémemēt sur ce qu'on avoit fait trouver mauvais à monsieur l'Admiral qu'il avoit mené vne bonne femme pour subvenir aux necessitez du ménage, & des malades, laquelle plusieurs là même avoient demandé en mariage,

& de fait a été mariée depuis son retour en France à vn de ceux qui la desiroient étans en la Floride: Au reste qu'il est necessaire en telles entreprises se faire reconoitre & obeir suivant sa charge, de peur que chacun ne vueille être maitre se sentant éloigné de plus grandes forces. Que si les rapporteurs avoient appelé cela rigueur, cette chose venoit plutot de la desobeissance des complaignans que de sa nature, moins sujette à être rigoureuse qu'ilz n'étoient à être rebelles, comme les effets l'ont montré.

¹¹⁰ Le lendemain de cette arrivée voici venir Indiens de toutes parts pour sçavoir quelles gens c'étoient. Aucuns reconurent le Capitaine Ribaut à sa grande barbe, & lui firent des presens, disans qu'en peu de jours ilz le meneroient aux montagnes du *Valaci*, où se trouvoit du cuivre rouge, qu'ilz nomment en leur langage *Pieroaipira*, duquel le Capitaine Ribaut ayant fait faire quelque essay par son Orfèvre, il lui rapporta que c'étoit vray or. ¹²⁰

Pendant ces parlemens, comme le Capitaine Ribaut eut fait décharger ses vivres, voici que le quatrième de Septembre six grandes navires Hespagnoles arriverent en la rade où les quatre plus grandes des François étoient demeurées, léquelles mouillerent l'ancre en assurant noz François de bonne amitié. Ilz demanderent comme se portoient les chefs de cette entreprise, & les nommerent tous par noms & surnoms. Mais le lendemain sur le point du jour ilz commencerent à canonner sur les nôtres, léquelz reconnoissans leur équipage être trop petit pour leur faire tête, à raison que la plupart de leurs gens étoient en terre, ils abandonnerent leurs ancrs, & se mirent à la voile. Les Hespagnols se voyans découverts leur lacherent encore quelques volées de canons, & les pourchasserent tout le jour; & voyans les navires Françaises meilleures de voiles que les leurs, & aussi qu'ilz ne se vouloient point depouiller de la côte, ilz se retirerent en la riviere des Dauphins, que les Indiens nôment *Seloy*, distante de huit ou dix lieux de la Caroline. Les nôtres donc se sentans forts de voiles, les suivirent pour voir ce qu'ilz feroiēt; puis revindrent en la riviere de May, là où le Capitaine Ribaut étant allé dans vne barque, on lui fit le recit de ce qui se passoit, même qu'il y étoit entré trois navires Hespagnoles dans la riviere des Dauphins, & les trois autres étoient demeurés à la rade. Aussi qu'ils avoient fait descêdre leur infanterie, leurs vivres & munitions. Ayant entendu ces nouvelles, il revint vers la Forteresse, & en presence des Capitaines & autres Gentils-hommes, il proposa qu'il étoit necessaire pour le service du Roy de s'embarquer avec toutes les forces, & aller trouver les trois navires Hespagnoles qui étoient en la rade; surquoy il demanda avis. Le Capitaine Laudonniere, malade au lit, remontra les perilleux coups de vents qui surviennent en cette côte, & que là où il aviendoit qu'il la dépouillast, il seroit mal-aisé de la pouvoir reprendre: que cependant ceux qui demeureroient au Fort seroient en ¹²¹ peine & danger. Les autres Capitaines lui en remontrèrent encore davantage, & qu'ilz n'étoient point d'avis que telle entreprise se fit, mais étoit beaucoup meilleur de garder la terre, & faire diligence de se fortifier. Ce nonobstant il se resolut de le faire, & persista en son embarquement: print tous les soldats qu'il avoit souz sa charge, & les meilleurs de la cōpagnie de Laudoniere, avec son Lieutenant, son Enseigne, & son Sergēt. Laudoniere lui dit qu'il avisait biē à ce qu'il vouloit faire, puis qu'il étoit chef dedās le pais, de crainte qu'il n'arrivat quelque chose de sinistre. A quoy il répōdit qu'il ne pouvoit moins ¹¹² faire que de cōtinuer cette entreprise: & qu'en la lettre qu'il avoit receuē de Monsieur l'Admiral y avoit vne apostille, laquelle il montra écrite en ces

termes : *Capitaine Iean Ribaut, en fermant cette lettre i'ay eu certain avis comme Dom Petró Melandes se part d'Hesagne pour aller à la côte de la Nouvelle-France. Vous regarderez de n'endurer qu'il entreprenne sur nous, non plus qu'il veut que nous entreprenions sur eux. Vous voyez (ce dit-il) la charge que i'ay, & vous laisse à juger à vous-même si vous en feriez moins, attëdu le certain avertissement que nous avons que des-ja ilz sont en terre, & nous veulent courir sus. A cela Laudonniere ne sceut que repliquer.*

Opiniatreté du Capitaine Ribaut : Prise du Fort des François : Retour en France : Mort dudit Ribaut & des siens : Brief recit de quelques cruautés Hespagnoles.

CHAP. XVIII

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LE Capitaine Ribaut, opiniaté en sa premiere proposition, s'embarqua le huitième de Septembre, & emmena avec lui trente-huit des gens du Capitaine Laudonniere, ensemble son Enseigne. Ainsi ne lui demeura aucun homme de commandement, car chacun suivit ledit Ribaut comme chef, au nom duquel depuis son arrivée tous les cris & bans se faisoient. Le dixième Septembre survint vne tēpête si grande en mer, que 113 jamais ne s'en étoit veuë vne pareille. Ce qui fut cause que Laudonniere remontra à ce qui lui restoit de gēs le danger où ils étoient d'endurer beaucoup de maux, s'il arrivoit inconvenient au Capitaine Ribaut & ceux qui étoient avec lui, ayans les Hespagnols si prés d'eux, qui se fortifioient. Partant, qu'il falloit aviser à se remparer & racouter ce qui avoit été démoli. Les vivres étoient petits; car même le Capitaine Ribaut avoit emporté le biscuit que Laudonniere avoit fait faire des farines Angloises, & ne s'étoit ressenti d'aucune courtoisie dudit Ribaut, qui lui avoit distribué son vivre comme à vn simple soldat. Nonobstant toute leur diligence, ilz ne peurent achever leur cloture. En cette nécessité donc on fait la reveuë des hommes de defense, qui se trouverent en bien petit nombre. Car il y avoit plus de quatre-vingts que de goujats, que femmes, & enfans, & bon nombre de ceux d'icelui Laudonniere encore estropiez de la journée qu'ils eurent contre *Outina*. Cette reveuë faite, le Capitaine ordonne les gardes, déquelles il fit deux escoüades pour se soulager l'une l'autre.

La nuit d'entre le dix-neuf & vintième de Septembre, vn nommé la Vigne étoit de garde avec son escoüade, là où il fit tout le devoir, encore qu'il pleût 123 incessamment. Quand donc le jour fut venu, & qu'il vit la pluie cōtinuer mieux que devant, il eut pitié des sentinelles ainsi mouillées: & pensant que les Hespagnols ne deussent venir en vn si étrange temps, il les fit retirer, & de fait lui-même s'en alla en son logis. Cependant quelqu'un qui avoit à faire hors le 114 Fort, & le trompette qui étoit allé sur le rempart, apperceurent vne troupe d'Hespagnols qui descendoient d'une montagnette, & commencerent à crier alarmes, & même le trompette. Ce qu'entendu, le Capitaine sort la rondelle & l'épée au poing, & s'en va au milieu de la place criant après ses soldats. Aucuns de ceux qui avoient bonne volonté, allerent devers la breche là où étoient les munitions de guerre, où ilz furent forcés & tuez. Par ce même lieu deux Enseignes entrèrent, léquelles furent incontinent plantées. Deux autres Enseignes aussi entrèrent du côté d'Ouest, où y avoit aussi vne autre breche, à laquelle ceux qui se presenterent furent tués & défaits. Le Capitaine allant pour secourir vne autre breche, trouva en tête vne bonne troupe d'Hespagnols, qui ja

étoient entrés, & le repousserent jusques en la place, là où étant il découvrit vn nommé François Iean, l'un des mariniers qui déroberent les barques dont a été parlé ci-dessus, lequel avoit amené & conduit les Hespagnols. Et voyant Laudonniere, il commença à dire, c'est le Capitaine : & lui ruerent quelques coups de picques. Mais voyant la place dé-jà prise & les enseignes plantées sur les remparts, & n'ayant qu'un homme auprès de soy, il entra en la cour de son logis, dedans laquelle il fut poursuivi ; & n'eût été vn pavillon qui étoit tendu, il eust été pris : mais les Hespagnols qui le suivoient s'amuserent à couper les cordes du pavillon, & cependant il se sauva par la breche du côté d'Ouest, & s'en alla dans les bois, là où il trouva vne quantité de ses hommes qui s'étoient ¹¹⁵ sauvés, du nombre déquels y en avoit trois ou quatre fort blessés. Alors il leur dit : Enfans, puis que Dieu a voulu que la fortune nous soit venue, il faut que nous mettions peine de gagner à travers les marais jusques aux navires qui sont à l'embouchure de la riviere. Les vns voulurent aller en vn petit village qui étoit dans les bois, les autres le suivirent au travers des roseaux dedans l'eau, là où ne pouvant plus aller pour la maladie qui le tenoit, il envoya deux hommes sçachans bien nager, qui étoient auprès de lui, vers les vaisseaux, pour les avertir de ce qui étoit venu, & qu'ils le vinssent secourir. Ilz ne sceurent pour ce jour là gagner les vaisseaux pour les avertir, & falut que toute la nuit il demeurât en l'eau jusqu'aux épaules, avec vn de ses hommes, qui jamais ne le voulut abandonner. Le lendemain, pensant mourir là, il se mit en devoir de prier Dieu. Mais ceux des navires ayans sceu où il étoit, le vindrent trouver en piteux état, & le porterent en la barque. Ils allerent aussi le long de la riviere pour recueillir ceux qui s'étoient sauvez. Le Capitaine ayant changé d'habits, dont on l'accommoda, ne voulut entrer dans les navires que premiere-ment il n'allât avec la barque le long des roseaux chercher les pauvres gens qui étoient épars, là où il en recueillit dix-huit ou vint. Etant arrivé aux vaisseaux, on lui conta comme le Capitaine Iacques Ribaut, neveu de l'autre (qui étoit en son navire distant du fort de deux arquebuzades), avoit parlementé avec les ¹¹⁶ Hespagnols, & que François Iean étoit allé en son navire, où il avoit longtemps été, dont on s'emmeilla fort, veu que c'étoit l'auteur de cette entreprise.

Après s'être rassemblés, on parla de revenir en France, & des moyens de s'accommoder. Ce que fait, le vint-cinquième de Septembre Laudonniere & Iacques Ribaut firent voiles, & environ le vint-huitième Octobre decouvrirent l'île de Flores aux Açores, ayans assez heureusement navigé, mais avec telle incommodité de vivres, qu'ilz n'avoient que du biscuit & de l'eau. L'onzième de Novembre ilz se trouverent à soixante-quinze brasses d'eau, & ¹²⁵ s'étant trouvé le Capitaine Laudonniere porté sur la côte de l'Angleterre en Galles, il y mit pied à terre, & renvoya le navire en France, attendant qu'il se fût vn petit raffraichi, & peu après vint trouver le Roy pour lui rendre compte de sa charge.

Voilà l'issuë des affaires qui ne marchent par bonne conduite. Le long delay fait en l'embarquemēt du Capitaine Iean Ribaut : & les quinze jours de temps qu'il employa à côtoyer la Floride avant que d'arriver à la Caroline, ont été cause de la perte de tout. Car s'il fût arrivé quand il pouvoit, sans s'amuser à aller de riviere en riviere, il eût eu du temps pour décharger ses navires, & se mettre en bonne defense, & les autres fussent revenuz paisiblement en France. Aussi lui a il fort mal pris d'avoir voulu plutot suivre les

conceptions de son esprit que son devoir. Car il n'eut point plutot laissé le
 117 Fort François pour se mettre en mer après les navires Hespagnoles, que la
 tempête le print, laquelle à la fin le contraignit de faire naufrage contre la côte,
 là où tous ses vaisseaux furent perdus, & lui à peine se peut-il sauver des ondes,
 pour tomber entre les mains des Hespagnols, qui le firent mourir & tous ceux de
 sa troupe : je dy mourir, mais d'une façon telle que les Canibales & Lestrignons
 en auroient horreur. Car après plusieurs tourmens ilz l'écorcherent cruellement
 (contre toutes les loix de guerre qui furent jamais) & envoyèrent sa peau en
 Europe. Exemple indigne de Chrétiens, & d'une nation qui veut que l'on
 croye qu'elle marche d'un zele de religion en la conquête des terres Occidentales,
 ce que tout homme qui sçait la verité de leurs histoires ne croira jamais. Je
 m'en rapporte à ce qu'en a écrit Dom Barthelemi de las Casas, Moine Hespagnol,
 & Evêque de Chiapa, qui a été present aux horribles massacres, boucheries, 126
 cruautés & inhumanités exercées sur les pauvres peuples qu'ils ont domtés en
 ces parties-là, entre lesquels il rapporte qu'en quarante-cinq ans ils en ont fait
 mourir & détruit vint millions : concluant que les Hespagnols ne vont point es
 Indes y étans menez de l'honneur de Dieu, & du zele de sa foy, ni pour secourir
 & avancer le salut à leurs prochains, ni aussi pour servir à leur Roy, dequoy à
 faulses enseignes ilz se vantent : mais l'avarice & l'ambitiō les y pousse, à fin
 de perpetuellement dominer sur les Indiens en tyrans & diables. Ce sont les
 118 mots de l'Auteur ; lequel recite qu'on n'avoit (au temps qu'il y a été) non plus
 de soin d'endocriner & amener à salut ces pauvres peuples là, que s'ils eussent
 été des bois, des pierres, des chiens, ou des chats : adjoutant qu'un Iean
 Colmenero, homme fantastique, ignorant & sot, à qui étoit donnée une grande
 ville en commande, & lequel avoit charge d'ames, étant une fois par lui examiné,
 ne sçavoit seulement faire le signe de la Croix : & enquis quelle chose il
 enseignoit aux Indiens, il répondit qu'il les donnoit aux diables, & que c'étoit
 assez qu'il leur disoit : *Per signin sanctin cruces*. Cet auteur nous a laissé un
 Recueil, ou abrégé intitulé : *Destruction des Indes par les Hespagnols* : meu à ce
 faire voyant que tous ceux qui en écrivent les histoires, soit pour agréer, soit
 par crainte, ou qu'ilz soient pensonnaires, passent souz silence leurs vices,
 cruautés & tyrannies, afin qu'on les repute gens de bien. Je mettray ici seule-
 ment ce qu'il recite de ce qu'ils ont fait en l'île de *Cuba*, qui est la plus proche
 de la Floride.

En l'an mille cinq cens & onze (dit-il) passerent à l'île de *Cuba*, où il avint 127
 chose fort remarquable. Un *Cacique* (c'est ce que les Floridiens appellent
Paraousti, Capitaine ou Prince) grand seigneur nommé *Hathuey*, qui s'étoit
 transporté de l'île Hespagnole à celle de *Cuba*, avec beaucoup de ses gens, pour
 fuir les cruautés & actes inhumains des Hespagnols : Comme quelques Indiens
 lui disoient les nouvelles que les Hespagnols venoient vers *Cuba*, il assembla son
 peuple, & leur dit : Vous sçavez le bruit qui court que les Hespagnols viennent
 119 par-deçà, & sçavés aussi par experience comme ilz ont traité tels & tels, & les
 gens de *Hayti* (qui est l'île Hespagnole, voisine de *Cuba*) ; ilz viennent faire le
 même ici. Sçavez vous pourquoy ilz le font ? Ilz répondirent que non, sinon
 (disoient-ilz) qu'ilz sont de leur nature cruels & inhumains. Il leur dit : Ilz ne
 le font point seulement pour cela, mais aussi parce qu'ils ont un Dieu lequel ils
 adorent, & demande avoir beaucoup ; & afin d'avoir de nous autres pour l'adorer,
 ilz mettent peine à nous subjuguier, & ilz nous tuent. Il avoit auprès de soy un
 coffret plein d'or & de joyaux, & dit : Voici le Dieu des Hespagnols. Faisons

luy, s'il vous semble bon, *Areytos* (qui sont bals & danses) & en ce faisant lui donnerons contentement, & commandera aux Hespagnols qu'ilz ne nous fassent point de déplaisir. Ilz répondirent tous à claire voix, C'est bien dit, c'est bien dit. Et ainsi ilz danserent devant lui jusques à se lasser. Et lors le seigneur *Hathuey* dit: Regardez, quoy qu'il en soit, si nous le garderons afin qu'il nous soit oté, car à la fin ilz nous tuéront. Parquoy jettons-le en la riviere. A quoy ilz s'accorderent tous, & ainsi jetterent ce Dieu en vne grande riviere qui étoit là tout près.

Ce seigneur & *Cacique* alloit toujours fuyant les Hespagnols incontinent qu'ils
 128 arrivoient à l'île de *Cuba*, comme celui qui les conoissoit trop, & il se defendoit quand il les rencontroit. A la fin il fut pris, & brulé tout vif. Et comme il étoit attaché au pal, vn Religieux de saint François, homme saint, lui dit quelques choses de nôtre Dieu, & de nôtre Foy, léuelles il n'avoit jamais ouïes, 120 & ne pouvoient l'instruire en si peu de temps. Le Religieux adjouta que s'il vouloit croire à ce qu'il lui disoit, il iroit au ciel, où y a gloire & repos eternal: & s'il ne le croyoit point, il iroit en enfer pour y être tourmenté perpétuellement. Le *Cacique*, après y avoir vn peu pensé, demanda si les Hespagnols alloient au ciel. Le Religieux répondit qu'ouï, quant aux bons. Le *Cacique* à l'heure, sans plus penser, dit qu'il ne vouloit point aller au ciel, mais en enfer, afin de ne se trouver en compagnie de telles gens. Et voici les louanges que Dieu & nôtre Foy ont reçu des Hespagnols qui sont allés aux Indes.

Vne fois (poursuit l'Auteur) les Indiens venoient au devant de nous nous recevoir avec des vivres & viandes delicates, & avec toute autre caresse, de dix lieux loin, & arrivés ilz nous donnerent grande quantité de poisson, de pain, & autres viandes. Voila incontinent que le diable se met és Hespagnols, & passent par l'épée en ma presence, sans cause quelconque, plus de trois mille ames, qui étoient assis devant nous, hommes, femmes, & enfans. Je vis là si grandes cruautés, que jamais hommes vivans n'en virent, ni n'en verront de semblables.

Vne autre fois & quelques jours après, j'envoyay des messagers à tous les Seigneurs de la province de *Havana*, les asseurant qu'ilz n'eussent peur (car ils avoient ouï de mon credit) & que sans s'absenter ilz nous vinssent voir, & qu'il 121 ne leur seroit fait aucun déplaisir: car tout le país étoit effrayé des maux & tueries passées: & fis ceci par l'avis du Capitaine même. Quand nous fumes
 129 venus à la province, vint & vn *Caciques* nous vindrent recevoir, léuels le Capitaine print incontinent, rompant l'assurance que je leur avoy donnée, & les voulut le jour ensuivant bruler vifs, disant qu'il étoit expedient de faire ainsi: qu'autrement ilz feroient quelque jour vn mauvais tour. Je me trouvay en vne tres-grande peine pour les sauver du feu: toutefois à la fin ils échapperent.

Après que les Indiens de cette ile furent mis en la servitude & calamité de ceux de l'île Hespagnole: & qu'ilz virent qu'ilz mouraient & perissoient tous sans aucun remede, les vns commencerent à s'enfuir aux montagnes, les autres tous desesperés se pendirent, hommes, & femmes, pendans quant & quant leurs enfans. Et par la cruauté d'un seul Hespagnol que ie conoy, il se pendit plus de deux cens Indiens, & est mort de cette façon vne infinité de gens.

Il y avoit en cette ile vn officier du Roy à qui ilz donnerent pour sa part trois cens Indiens, dont au bout de trois mois il lui en étoit mort au travail des minieres deux cens soixante. Après ilz lui en dōnerent encore vne fois autāt, & plus, & les tua aussi bien: & autant qu'on lui en donnoit, autant en tuoit-il, jusques à ce qu'il mourut, & que le diable l'emporta.

En trois, ou quatre mois, moy present, il est mort plus de six mille enfans,¹²² pour leur être otez peres & meres qu'on avoit mis aux minieres. Je vis aussi d'autres choses épouvantables au depeuplement de cette ile, laquelle c'est grand pitié de voir ainsi maintenant desolée.

Je n'ay voulu mettre que ceci des cruautez des Hespagnols en l'île de Cuba. Car qui voudroit écrire ce qu'ils ont fait en trois mille lieues de terre, on en pourroit faire vn gros volume tout de même étoffe que ce que dessus. Comme par exemple j'ajouteray ce que le même dit des cruautez faites és iles de Saint-Iean & de *Iamaïca* : Les Hespagnols (dit-il) passerent à l'île Saint-Iean¹³⁰ & à celle de *Iamaïca* (qui étoient comme de jardins & ruches d'abeilles) en l'an mille cinq cens neuf, s'étans proposé la même fin & but qu'ils avoient eu en l'île Hespagnole, faisans & commettans les brigandages & pechez susdits, & y adjoutans davantage beaucoup de tres-grandes & notables cruautés, tuans, brulans, rotissans, & jettans aux chiens, puis apres aussi opprimans, tourmentans, & vexans en des minieres, & par autres travaux, jusques à consumer & extirper tous ces pauvres innocens, qui étoient en ces deux iles, jusques à six cens milles : voire ie croy qu'ils étoient plus d'un million : & il n'y a point aujourd'hui en chacune ile 200. personnes, & tous sont peris sans foy & sans sacremens.

Toutes léuelles cruautés, & cent mille autres, ce bon Evesque ne pouvant supporter, il en fit ses remontrances & plaintes au Roy d'Hespagne, qui ont été redigées par écrit, au bout desquelles est la protestation qu'il en a fait, appelant Dieu à témoin, & toutes les hierarchies des Anges, & tous les Saints de la¹²³ Cour celeste, & tous les hommes du monde, même ceux-là qui vivront ci apres, de la certification qu'il en donne, & de la décharge de sa conscience, en l'année mille cinq cens quarante deux. Chose certes au recit de laquelle paravature ceux qui ont l'Hespagne en l'ame ne me croiront : mais ce que j'ay dit n'est qu'une petite parcelle du contenu au livre de cet Auteur, lequel les Hespagnols mêmes ne se dédaignent de citer avec ce que dessus és livres qu'ils ont intitulez : Histoire du grand royaume de la Chine. Et pour mieux confirmer telz scrupuleux, ie les renvoye encore à vn autre qui a décrit l'histoire naturele¹³¹ & morale des Indes tant Orientales qu'Occidentales, Ioseph Acosta,¹ lequel quoy qu'il couvre ces horribles cruautez (comme étant de la nation) toutefois en adoucissant la chose il n'a peu se tenir de dire : *Mais nous autres à present, ne considerans rien de cela* (il parle de la bonne police & entendemēt des Mexiquains), *nous y entrons par l'épée, sans les ouïr ni entendre, &c.* Et ailleurs,² rendant la raison pourquoy les iles qu'on appelle de Barlouente, c'est à sçavoir l'Hespagnole, Cube, Port-riche, & autres en ces environs, sont aujourd'hui si peu habitées : *Pource, dit il, qu'il y est resté peu d'Indiens naturels par l'inconsideration & desordre des premiers cōqueurs & peuplers.* Par ces paroles se reconoit qu'ilz disent vne même chose, mais l'un parle par zele, & l'autre comme vn homme qui ne veut scandalizer son païs.

Que s'ils ont fait telles choses aux Indiens : étans des-ja accoutumés au¹²⁴ carnage, il ne se faut étonner de ce qu'ils ont fait au Capitaine Ribaut, & aux siens : & s'ils eussent tenu Laudonniere, il n'en eût pas eu meilleur marché. Car les François demeurez avec lui qui tomberent entre leurs mains furent tous pendus, avec cet écriteau : *Je ne fay ceci comme à François, mais comme à Lutheriens.* Je ne veux defendre les Lutheriens : mais je diray que ce n'étoit aux Hespagnols de conoitre de la Religion des sujets du Roy, mémement

¹ Livre 6, chap. 1.² Livre 3, chap. 22.

n'étans sur les terres d'eux Hespagnols, mais sur ce qui appartenoit au Roy de son propre conquest. Et puis que les François s'étoient abstenuz de les troubler (car la rebellion de laquelle nous avons parlé ci-dessus ne vient point ici en consideration) ilz les devoient tout-de-même laisser en leurs limites, & n'empêcher l'avancement du nom Chrétien. Car quoy qu'il y eût des pretendus Reformés, il y avoit aussi des Catholiques, & y en eût eu plus abondamment avec le temps : là où maintenant ces pauvres peuples-là sont encore en leur ignorance premiere.

Quelques hommes sots & trop scrupuleux diront qu'il vaut mieux les laisser tels qu'ilz sont, que de leur donner vne mauvaise teinture : Mais je repliqueray que l'Apostre saint Paul ¹ *se réjouissoit de ce que (quoy que par envie & contention, & non purement) en quelque maniere que ce fust, ou par feintise, ou en verité, Christ étoit annôcé.* Il est difficile, voire impossible aux mortels d'amener tous les hômes à vne même opinion, & principalemēt où il y va de choses qui peuvent être sujettes à interpretation. L'Empereur Charles V. apres la Diete d'Ausbourg, voyant qu'en vain il s'étoit travaillé apres vne telle chose, se depleut au monde & se fit moine : auquel genre de vie voulant parmi son loisir accorder les horloges, puis qu'il n'avoit sceu accorder les hommes, il y perdit aussi sa peine, & ne sceut oncques faire qu'elles sonnassent toutes ensemble, quoy qu'elles fussent de pareille grandeur, & faites de même main. C'eust été beaucoup d'avoir donné à ce peuple quelque conoissance de Dieu, & par sa bonté & l'assistance de son saint Esprit il eût fait le reste. L'Admiral de Colligni n'a pas toujours vécu : vn autre eût fait des colonies purement Catholiques, & eût revoqué les autres : & ne trouve point quant à moy que les Hespagnols soient plus excusables en leurs cruautéz, que les Lutheriens en leur religion. Au reste, les Terres-neuves & Occidentales étans d'une si grande étendue que toute l'Europe ne suffiroit à peupler ce qui y est de vague, c'est vne envie bien maudite, vne ambition damnable, & vne avarice cruelle aux Hespagnols de ne pouvoir souffrir que personne y aborde pour y habiter ; & vne folie de se dire seuls seigneurs de ce dequoy personne y ayant droit ne les a fait heritiers. Or cette cruauté barbaresque exercée alencontre des François fut vengée deux ans apres par le gentil courage du Capitaine Gourgues, comme sera veu au chapitre suivant.

¹ Aux Philipp. I, vers, 15, 16, 17, 18.

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CHAP. XIX

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L'AN mille cinq cens soixante-sept le Capitaine Gourgues, Gentil-homme Bourdelois, poussé d'un courage vraiment François & du desir de relever l'honneur de sa nation, fit un emprunt à ses amis, & vendit une partie de ses biens pour dresser & fournir de tout le besoin trois moyens navires portans cent cinquante soldats, avec quatre-vingts mariniers choisis, sous le Capitaine Cazenove, son Lieutenant, & François Bourdelois, maître sur les matelots. Puis partit le vingt-deuxième d'Aoust au susdit, & après avoir quelque temps combattu les vents & tempêtes contraires, en fin arriva & territ à l'île de *Cuba*. De là fut au Cap saint Antoine, au bout de l'île de *Cuba*, éloignée de la Floride environ deux cens lieux, où ledit Gourgues déclara à ses gens son dessein qu'il leur avoit toujours celé, les priant & admonétant de ne l'abandonner si près de l'ennemi, si bien pourvus, & pour une telle occasion. Ce qu'ils lui jurèrent tous, & ce de si bon courage qu'ils ne pouvoient attendre la pleine lune à passer le détroit de *Baham*, ains découvrirent la Floride assez tôt, du Fort de laquelle les Hespagnols les saluerent de deux canonades, estimans qu'ilz fussent de leur nation, & Gourgues leur fit pareille salutation pour les entretenir en cet erreur, afin de les surprendre avec plus d'avantage, passant outre neantmoins, & feignant aller ailleurs, jusques à ce qu'il eut perdu le lieu de veüé, si que la nuit venue il descend à quinze lieux du Fort, devant la rivière *Tacadacorou*, que les François ont nommée *Seine*, pource qu'elle leur sembla telle que celle de France. Puis, ayant découvert la rive toute bordée de Sauvages pourvus d'arcs & fleches, leur envoya son Trompette pour les assurer (outre le signe de paix & d'amitié qu'il leur faisoit faire des navires) qu'ilz n'étoient là venus que pour renouer l'amitié & confederation des François avec eux. Ce que le Trompette executa si bien (pour y avoir demeuré sous *Laudonniere*) qu'il rapporta du *Paraousti Satouriona* un chevreuil & autres viandes pour rafraichissement : puis se retirerent les Sauvages dansans en signe de joye, pour avertir tous les *Paraoustis* d'y retourner le lendemain. A quoy ilz ne manquerent : & entre autres y étoient le grand *Satouriona*, *Tacadacorou*, *Halmacanir*, *Athore*, *Harpaka*, *Helmacapé*, *Helycopile*, *Molona*, & autres avec leurs armes accoutumées, lesquelles reciproquement ilz laisserent pour conferer ensemble avec plus d'assurance. *Satouriona* étant allé trouver le Capitaine Gourgues sur la rive, le fit seoir à son côté droit : & comme Gourgues voulut parler, *Satouriona* l'interrompit, & commença à lui deduire des maux incroyables & continuelles indignitez que tous les Sauvages, leurs femmes & enfans avoient receu des Hespagnols depuis leur venue, & le bon desir qu'il avoit de s'en vèger pourveu qu'on le voulût aider. A quoy Gourgues prêtant le serment, & la confede-

ration entr'eux jurée, il leur donna quelques dagues, couteaux, miroirs, haches, & autres marchandises à eux propres. Ce qu'ayant fait, ilz demanderent encore chacun vne chemise pour se vêtir en leurs jours solennels, & être enterrées avec eux à leur mort. Eux en recompense firent des presens au Capitaine Gourgues de ce qu'ils avoient, & se retirerent dansans fort joyeux, avec promesse de tenir le tout secret, & d'amener au même lieu bonnes troupes de leurs sujets tous emba-tonnez pour se bien vèger des Hespagnols. Ce-pendant Gourgues ayant interrogé Pierre de Bré, natif du Havre de Grace, autrefois échappé du Fort à travers les
 136 bois, tandis que les Hespagnols tuoient les autres François, & depuis nourri par *Satouriona*, qui le donna audit Gourgues, il se servit fort de ses avis, sur lesquels il envoya recognoître le Fort & l'état des ennemis par quelques-vns des siens conduits par *Olotaraca*, neveu de *Satouriona*.

La demarche conclue, & le rendez-vous donné aux Sauvages au-delà la riviere *Salinacani*, autrement Somme, ils beurent tous en grande solennité leur breuvage dit *Cassine*, fait de jus de certaines herbes, lequel ils ont accoutumé prendre quand ilz vont en lieux hazardieux, parce qu'il leur ote la soif & la faim par vint-quatre heures : & fallut que Gourgues fit semblant d'en boire : puis leverent les mains, & jurerent tous de ne l'abandonner jamais. Ils eurent des
 129 difficultez grandes pour les pluies & lieux pleins d'eau qu'il fallut passer avec du retardement qui leur accroissoit la faim. Or avoient-ilz sceu que les Hespagnols étoient quatre cens hommes de defense repartis en trois Forts dressé & flanqués, & bien accommodés sur la riviere de May. Car outre la Caroline, ils en avoient encore fait deux autres plus bas vers l'embouchure de la riviere, aux deux côtez d'icelle. Etant donc arrivé assez près, Gourgues delibera d'assaillir le Fort à la diane du matin suivant : ce qu'il ne peût faire pour l'injure du ciel & obscurité de la nuit. Le *Paraousti Helicopile*, le voyât fâché d'y avoir failly, l'assure de le conduire par vn plus aisé, bien que plus long chemin : si que le guidant par les bois il le meine en veüe du Fort, où il reconut vn quartier qui n'avoit que certains commencemens de fossez, si bien qu'après avoir fait sonder la petite riviere qui se rend là, ilz la passerent, & aussi-tôt s'appreterent au combat, la
 137 veille de Quasimodo en Avril mil cinq cens soixante-huit. Tellement que Gourgues, pour employer ce feu de bonne volonté, donne vint arquebuziers à son Lieutenant Cazenove, avec dix mariniers chargez de pots & grenades à feu pour bruler la porte : puis attaque le Fort par autre endroit, après avoir vn peu harangué ses gens sur l'étrange trahison que ces Hespagnols avoient joié à leurs compagnons. Mais apperceuz venans à tête baissée, à deux cens pas du Fort, le canonier monté sur la terrasse d'icelui, ayant crié, Arme, Arme, ce sont
 130 François, leur envoya deux coups d'une coulevrine portant les armes de France prinse sur Laudonniere. Et comme il vouloit recharger pour le troisième coup, *Olotocara*, transporté de passion, sortant de son rang, monta sur vne plate-forme & lui passa sa picque travers le corps. Surquoy Gourgues s'avançant, & ayant ouï crier par Cazenove que les Hespagnols sortis armés au cri de l'alarme s'enfuyoient, tire cette part, & les enferme de sorte entre lui & son Lieutenant, que de soixante il n'en rechappa que quinze réservés à même peine qu'ils avoient fait porter aux François. Les Hespagnols de l'autre Fort ce-pendant ne cessent de tirer des canonades, qui incommodoient beaucoup les nôtres. Gourgues voyant cela se jette (suivi de quatre-vints arquebuziers) dans vne barque qui se trouva là bien à point pour passer dans le bois joignant le Fort, duquel il jugeoit que les assiegez sortiroient pour se sauver à la faveur dudit bois dedans le grand

Fort, qui n'en étoit éloigné que d'une lieue à l'autre part de la rivière. Les Sauvages, impatiens d'attendre le retour de la barque, se jettent tous en l'eau tenans leurs arcs & fleches élevées en une main, & nageans de l'autre : en sorte que les Hespagnols, voyans les deux rives couvertes de si grand nombre d'hommes penserent fuir vers les bois, mais tirez par les François, puis repoussez par les Sauvages, vers lesquels ilz se vouloient ranger, on leur otoit la vie plutôt qu'ilz ¹³⁸ ne l'avoient demandée : Somme que tous y finirent leurs jours hors-mis les ¹³¹ quinze qu'on reservoit à punition exemplaire. Et fit le Capitaine Gourgues transporter tout ce qu'il trouva du deuxième Fort au premier, où il vouloit se fermer pour prendre resolution contre le grand Fort, duquel il ne sçavoit l'état.

Hespagnol déguisé en Sauvage : Grande resolution d'un Indien : Approches & prise du grand Fort : Demolition d'icelui, & des deux autres : Execution des Hespagnols prisonniers : Regret des Sauvages au partir des François : Retour de Gourgues en France : Et ce qui lui avint depuis.

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CHAP. XX

C'E n'étoit peu avancé d'avoir fait l'exécution que nous avons dit en la prise des deux petits Forts, mais il en restoit encore vne bien importante & plus difficile que les deux autres ensemble, qui étoit de gagner le grand Fort nommé la Caroline par les François, où y avoit trois cens hômes bien munis, souz vn brave Gouverneur, qui étoit homme pour se faire bien battre en attendant secours. Gourgues donc ayant eu le plan, la hauteur, les fortificatiōs & avenues dudit Fort par vn Sergent de bande Hespagnol son prisonnier, il fait dresser huit bonnes écheles, & soulever tout le pais contre l'Hespagnol, & delibere sortir sans lui donner loisir de débaucher les peuples voisins pour le venir secourir. Cependant le Gouverneur envoie vn ¹³² Hespagnol deguisé en Sauvage pour reconoitre l'état des François. Et bien que découvert par *Olotocara*, il subtiliza tout ce qu'il peut pour faire croire qu'il étoit du secōd Fort, duquel échappé, & ne voyant que Sauvages de toutes parts, il s'étoit ainsi deguisé pour mieux parvenir aux François, de la misericorde déquels il esperoit plus que de ces barbares. Confronté toutefois avec le Sergent de bandes, & convaincu être du grand Fort, il fut de la reserve, après qu'il eut asseuré Gourgues qu'on le disoit accompagné de deux mille François, crainte déquels ce qui restoit d'Hespagnols au grand Fort étoient assés étonnés. Surquoy Gourgues resolut de les presser en telle épouvente, & laissant son Enseigne avec quinze arquebuziers pour la garde du Fort, & de l'entrée de la riviere, fait ¹⁴⁰ de nuit partir les Sauvages pour s'embusquer dans les bois deçà et delà la riviere : puis part au matin, menant liez le Sergent & l'espion pour lui montrer à l'œil ce qu'ilz n'avoient fait entendre qu'en peinture. S'étans acheminez, *Olotocara*, déterminé Sauvage, qui n'abandonnoit jamais le Capitaine, lui dit qu'il l'avoit bien servi, & fait tout ce qu'il lui avoit commandé : qu'il s'asseuroit de mourir au combat du grand Fort. Partant le prioit de donner à sa femme après sa mort ce qu'il lui donneroit s'il ne mouroit point, afin qu'elle l'enterrât avec lui, pour être mieux venu au village des esprits. Le Capitaine Gourgues, après l'avoir loüé de sa fidele vaillance, amour conjugal & genereux courage digne d'un ¹³³ honneur immortel, répond qu'il l'aimoit mieux honorer vif que mort, & que Dieu aidant il le rameneroit victorieux.

Dés la découverte du Fort, les Hespagnols ne furent chiches de canonades, même de deux doubles coulevrines, léquelles montées sur vn boulevart commandoient le long de la riviere. Ce qui fit retirer Gourgues dans le bois, où étant, il eut assez de couverture pour s'approcher du Fort sans offense : Et avoit bien delibéré de demeurer là jusques au matin, qu'il étoit

resolu d'assaillir les Hespagnols par escalade du côté du mont où le fossé ne lui sembloit assez flanqué pour la defense de ses courtines ; mais le Gouverneur avança son desastre, faisant sortir soixante arquebuziers, léquels coulez le long des fosses s'avancerent pour découvrir le nombre & valeur des François : vint déquelz se mettans souz Cazenove entre le Fort & les Hespagnols ja sortis, leur coupent la retraite, pendant que Gourgues commande au reste de les charger en tête, mais ne tirer que de près & coups qui portassent, pour puis après les sagmenter plus aisément à coups d'épée. Ce qui fut fait ; mais tournans le dos aussi-tôt que chargez, & resserrez d'ailleurs par Cazenove, tous y demeurèrent. ¹⁴¹ Dont le reste des assiegez furent si effrayez qu'ilz ne sceurent prendre autre resolution pour garentir leur vie que par la fuite dans les bois prochains, où neantmoins rencontrez par les flèches des Sauvages qui les y attendoient, furent ¹³⁴ aucuns contrainsts de tourner tête, aimans mieux mourir par les mains des François qui les poursuivoient, s'asseurans de ne pouvoir trouver lieu de misericorde en l'une ni en l'autre nation qu'ils avoient également & si fort outragée.

Le Fort pris fut trouvé bien pourveu de toute chose necessaire, nommément de cinq doubles coulevrines & quatre moyennes, avec plusieurs autres pieces de toutes sortes : & dix-huit gros caques de poudre, & toutes sortes d'armes, que Gourgues fit soudain charger en la barque, non les poudres & autres meubles, d'autant que le feu emporta tout par l'inadvertance d'un Sauvage, lequel faisant cuire du poisson, mit le feu à une trainée de poudre faite & cachée par les Hespagnols pour fétoyer les François au premier assaut.

Les restes des Hespagnols menés avec les autres, après que Gourgues leur eut remontré l'injure qu'ils avoient faite sans occasion à toute la nation Française, furent tous penduz aux branches des mêmes arbres qu'avoient été les François, cinq déquels avoient été étranglez par un Hespagnol, qui se trouvant à un tel desastre, confessa la faute, & la juste punition que Dieu lui faisoit souffrir. Et comme ils avoient mis des écriteaux aux François, on leur en mit tout de même en ces mots : *Je ne fay ceci comme à Hespagnols, ni comme à mariniers, mais comme à traitres, voleurs & meurtriers.* Puis se voyant foible de gens pour garder ces Forts, moins encore pour les peupler, & crainte aussi que l'Hespagnol n'y ¹³⁵ retournast, à l'aide des Sauvages les mit tous rez pied, rez terre en un jour. Cela fait, il renvoye l'artillerie par eau à la riviere de Seine, où étoient ses vaisseaux : ¹⁴² & quant à lui retourne à pied, accompagné de quatre-vints arquebusiers armez sur le dos & meches allumées, suiviz de quarante mariniers portans picques, pour le peu d'assurance de tant de Sauvages, toujours marchans en bataille, & trouvens le chemin tout couvert d'Indiens qui le venoient honorer de presens & louanges, comme au liberateur de tous les pais voisins. Une vieille entre autres lui dit qu'elle ne se soucioit plus de mourir, puis que les Hespagnols chassiez, elle avoit une autre fois veu les François en la Floride. En fin arrivé, & trouvant ses navires prêts à faire voile, il conseilla les *Paraoustis* de persister en l'amitié & confederation ancienne qu'ils ont eue avec les Rois de France, qui les defendra contre toutes nations. Ce que tous lui promirent, fondans en larmes pour son départ, & sur tous *Olotocara*. Pour léquels appaiser il leur promit estre de retour dans douze lunes (ainsi content-ils leurs années) & que son Roy leur enverroit armée, & force presens de couteaux, haches, & toutes autres choses de besoin. Cela fait, il rendit graces à Dieu, avec tous les siens, faisant lever les ancrs le troisième May, cinq cens soixante-huit, & cinglerent si heureusement qu'en dix-sept jours ilz firent onze cent lieues, d'où continuans

le sixième Iuin arriverent à la Rochelle. Après les caresses qu'il receut des Rochelois il fit voile vers Bourdeaux : mais il l'échappa belle. Car le jour même qu'il partit de la Rochelle arriverent dix-huit pataches & vne roberge de deux cent tonneaux chargés d'Hespagnols, léquels asseurez du desastre de la Floride, venoiēt pour l'enlever & lui faire vne merveilleuse fête, & le suivirent jusques à Blaye, mais il étoit ja rendu à Bourdeaux.

Depuis, le Roy d'Hespagne, averti qu'on ne l'avoit sceu attraper, ordonna ¹³⁶ vne grande somme de deniers à qui lui pourroit apporter sa tête : priant en outre le Roy Charles d'en faire iustice, comme d'un infracteur de leur bonne alliance & confederation, sans faire mention que les siens premierement avoient été infracteurs de cette confederation. Tellement que Gourgues venu à Paris pour se presenter au Roy, & lui faire entendre avec le succès de son voyage le moyen de remettre tout ce país en son obeissance, à quoy il protestoit d'employer sa vie & ses moyens, il eut un recueil & réponse tant diverse, qu'il fut en fin forcé de se celer long temps en la ville de Roüen environ l'an mille cinq cens soixante-dix : & sans l'assistance de ses amis il eût été en danger. Ce qui le facha merveilleusement, considerant les services par lui renduz tant au Roy Charles qu'à ses predecesseurs Rois de France. Car il avoit été en toutes les armées qui s'étoient levées l'espace de vint-cinq à trente ans, & avec trente soldats avoit soutenu en qualité de Capitaine les efforts d'une partie de l'armée Hespagnole en ¹³⁷ vne place près Siene, en laquelle ses gens furent taillés en pieces, & lui mis en galere pour témoignage de bonne guerre & bien rare faveur Hespagnole. En fin pris du Turc, & depuis par le Commandeur de Malte, il retourna en sa maison, où il ne demeura oisif : mais dressa un voyage au Bresil, & en la mer du Su, & depuis en la Floride : si que la Royne d'Angleterre desira l'avoir pour le merite de ses vertus. Somme, qu'en l'an quatre-vints deux il fut choisi par Dom Anthoine pour conduire en tiltre d'Admiral la flote qu'il deliberoit envoyer contre le Roy d'Hespagne lorsqu'il s'empara du royaume de Portugal. Mais arrivé à Tours, il fut saisi d'une maladie qui l'enleva de ce monde, au grand regret de ceux qui le conoissoient.

SECOND LIVRE DE

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L'HISTOIRE DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE

CONTENANT LES VOYAGES FAITS SOUZ LE SIEUR DE
VILLEGAGNON EN LA FRANCE ANTARCTIQUE
DU BRESIL

AVANT-PROPOS

TROIS choses volontiers induisent les hommes à rechercher les païs lointains, & quitter leurs habitatiōs naturelles & le lieu de leur naissāce. La premiere est l'espoir de mieux : La secōde, quand vne province est tellement inondée de peuple, qu'il faut qu'elle déborde, & envoie ce qu'elle ne peut plus cōtenir sur les regiōs ou voisines, ou éloignées : ainsi qu'après le deluge les hōmes se disperserēt selon leurs lāgues & familles iusques aux dernieres parties du mōde,¹ cōme en Iava, en Iapā & autres lieux en l'Orient, & en Italie & és Gaules en Occidēt ; & les parties Septentrionales se répandirent par tout l'Empire Romain, iusques en 140 Afrique, au temps des Empereurs Honorius & Theodose le Jeune, & autres de leur siecle. Les Hespagnols, qui ne sont si abondans en generation, ont eu d'autres suiets qui les ont tiré hors de leurs provinces pour courir la mer, ç'a été la pauvreté, n'étant leur terre d'assez ample rapport pour leur fournir les necessitez de la vie. La France n'est pas de même. Chacun est d'accord que c'est l'œil de l'Europe, laquelle n'emprunte rien d'autrui si elle ne veut. Sa fertilité se reconoit en la proximité des villes & villages, qui se regardent de 146 tous côtez : ce qu'ayant quelquefois observé, i'ai pris plaisir, étant en Picardie, à compter dix-huit & vint villages à l'entour de moy, léquels reçoivent leur nourriture en vn petit pourpris comme de deux ou trois lieuës Françoises d'étenduë de toutes parts. Noz Rois, saulez de cette felicité, & à leur exemple leurs vassaux & sujets qui avoiēt moyen de faire quelque belle entreprise, pensant qu'ilz ne pouvoient trouver mieux qu'en leur païs, ne se sont autrement souciez des voyages d'outre l'Océan, ni de la conquête des Nouvelles terres. Ioint que (comme a été dit ailleurs) depuis la découverte des Indes 141 Occidentales la France a toujours été travaillée de guerres intestines & externes, qui en ont retenu plusieurs de tenter la même fortune qu'ont fait les Hespagnols.

La troisième chose qui fait sortir les peuples hors de leur païs & s'y déplaire, c'est la division, les querelles, les procès ; suiet qui fit iadis sortir les Gaullois de leurs terres, & les abandonner pour en aller chercher d'autres en Italie (à ce

¹ Gen. 10.

que dit Iustin l'historien¹) là où ilz chasserent les Toscans hors de leur païs, & bâtirent les villes de Milan, Come, Bresse, Verone, Bergame, Trente, Vicence, & autres.

Quoy que ce soit qui ait poussé quelques François à traverser l'Océan, leurs entreprises n'ont encore bien reüssi. Vray est qu'ilz sont excusables en ce qu'ayans rendu des témoignages de leur bonne volonté & courage, ilz n'ont point été virilement soutenus, & n'a-on marché en ces affaires ici que comme par maniere d'acquit. Nous en avons vu des exemples és deux voyages de la Floride; & puis que nous sommes si avant, passons du Tropique de Cancer
147 à celui du Capricorne, & voyons s'il est mieux arrivé au Chevalier de Villegagnō en la France Antarctique du Bresil: puis nous viēdrōs visiter le Capitaine Iacques Quartier, lequel est dés y a lōg tēps à la découverte des Terres-neuves vers la grāde riviere de Canada.

¹ Iustin liv. 20.

¹⁴² *Entreprise du Sieur de Villegagnon pour aller au Bresil : Discours de tout son voyage jusques à son arrivée en ce pais-là : Fièvre pestilente à cause des eaux puantes : Maladies des François & mort de quelques uns : Zone torride tempérée : Multitude de poissons : Ile de l'Ascension : Arrivée au Bresil : Rivière de Ganabara : Fort des François.*

CHAP. I

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¹⁴³ **E**N l'an mille cinq cens cinquante-cinq, le sieur de Villegagnon, Chevalier de Malte, se fachant en France, & même ayant (à ce qu'on dit) reçu quelque mécontentemēt en Bretagne, où il se tenoit lors, fit sçavoir en plusieurs endroits le desir qu'il avoit de se retirer de la France, & habiter en quelque lieu à l'écart, éloigné des soucis qui rongent ordinairement la vie à ceux qui se trouvent enveloppés aux affaires du monde de deça. Partant il jette l'œil & son desir sur les terres du Bresil, qui n'étoient encores occupées par aucuns Chrétiens, en intention d'y mener des colonies Françaises, sans troubler l'Hespagnol en ce qu'il avoit découvert & possédoit. Et d'autant que telle entreprise ne se pouvoit bonnement faire sans l'avœu, entremise, consentemēt & autorité de l'Admiral, qui étoit pour lors Messire Gaspar de Colligni, imbeu des opinions de la Religion pretenduë reformée, il fit entendre (soit par feinte ou autrement) audit sieur Admiral, & à plusieurs Gentils-hommes & autres pretenduz reformez, que dés long temps il avoit non seulement vn desir extrême de se ranger en quelque pais lointain où il peût librement & purement servir à Dieu selon la reformation de l'Evangile : mais ¹⁴⁹ aussi qu'il desiroit y preparer lieu à tous ceux qui s'y voudroient retirer pour éviter les persecutions : léquelles de fait étoient telles en ce temps contre les protestans, que plusieurs d'entr'eux & de tout sexe & qualité, étoient en tout lieu du Royaume de France, par Edits du Roy, & par arrêts de la Cour de Parlement, brulez vifs, & leurs biens confisquez. L'Admiral ayant entendu cette resolution, en parla au Roy Henry II. lors regnant, auprès duquel il étoit bien venu, & lui discourut de la consequence de l'affaire, & combien cela pourroit à l'avenir être vtile à la France si Villegagnon, homme entendu en beaucoup de choses, étant en cette volonté, entreprenoit le voyage. Le Roy, facile à persuader, mémement en ce qui étoit de son service, accorda volontiers ce que l'Admiral lui proposa, & fit dōner à Villegagnon deux beaux navires équippez & fourniz d'artillerie, & dix mille francs pour faire sa navigation. De laquelle j'avois omis les particularitez pour n'en avoir sceu recouvrer les memoires, mais sur le point que l'Imprimeur achevoit ce qui est de la Floride, vn de mes amis m'en a fourni de bien amples, léquels en ce tēps-là ont été envoyez par deça de la France Antarctique par vn des gens dudit sieur de Villegagnon, dont voici la teneur.

¹⁴⁴ L'an du Seigneur mille cinq cens cinquante-cinq, le douzième jour de Juillet, Monsieur de Villegagnon ayant mis ordre & appareillé tout ce qu'il lui sembloit

estre convenable à son entreprise, accompagné de plusieurs Gentils-hommes, manouvriers & mariniers, équippa en guerre & marchandise deux beaux vaisseaux, léquels le Roy Henry second de ce nom lui avoit fait delivrer, du port chacun
 150 de deux cens tonneaux, munis & garnis d'artillerie, tant pour la defense dédits vaisseaux que pour en delaisser en terre : avec vn hourquin de cent tonneaux, lequel portoit les vivres, & autres choses necessaires en telle faction. Ces choses ainsi bien ordonnées, commanda qu'on fit voile ledit jour sur les trois heures après midi, de la ville du Havre de Grace, auquel lieu s'étoit fait son embarquement. Pour lors la mer étoit belle, afflorée du vent North-est, qui est Grec levant, lequel (s'il eust duré) étoit propre pour nôtre navigation, & d'icelui eussions gagné la terre Occidentale. Mais le lendemain & jours suivans il se changea au Sur-oest, auquel avions droitement affaire : & tellement nous tourmenta, que fumes contraints relacher à la côte d'Angleterre nommée le Blanquet, auquel lieu mouillames les ancrs, ayans esperance que la fureur de cetui vent cesseroit, mais ce fut pour rien, car il nous convint icelles lever en la plus grande diligence qu'on scauroit dire, pour relacher & retourner en France, au lieu de Dieppe. Avec laquelle tourmente il survint au vaisseau auquel s'étoit embarqué ledit Seigneur de Villegagnon vn tel lachemêt d'eau, qu'en
 145 moins de demie heure l'on tiroit par des sentines le nombre de huit à neuf cens batonnées d'eau, c'est à dire quatre cens seaux : Qui étoit chose étrange & encore non ouïe à navire qui sort d'un port. Pour toutes ces choses nous entrames dans le havre de Dieppe, à grande difficulté, parce que ledit havre n'a que trois brassées d'eau, & noz vaisseaux tiroient deux brassées & demie. Avec cela il y avoit grâde levée pour le vent qui ventoit, mais les Dieppois (selon
 151 leur coutume loüable & honête) se trouverent en si grand nombre pour haller les emmares & cables, que nous entrames par leur moyen le dix septième jour dudit mois. De celle venuë plusieurs de noz Gentils-hommes se contenterent d'avoir veu la mer, accomplissant le proverbe ; *Mare vidit & fugit*. Aussi plusieurs soldats, manouvriers & artisans furent degoutez & se retirerent. Nous demeurames là l'espace de trois semaines, tant pour attendre le vent bon & second, que pour le radoubement desdits navires. Puis après le vent retourna au Northest, duquel nous-nous mimes encore en mer, esperans toujours sortir hors les côtes & prendre la haute mer. Ce que ne peumes, ains nous convint relacher au Havre d'où nous étions partis, par la violence du vent qui nous fut autant contraire qu'auparavant. Et là demeurames jusques à la veille nôtre Dame de la mi-Aoust. Entre lequel chacun s'efforça de prendre nouveaux rafraichissemens pour r'entrer encor, & pour la troisième fois, en mer. Auquel jour nous apparut la clemence & benignité de nôtre bon Dieu : car il appaisa le
 146 courroux de la mer & le ciel furieux contre nous, & les changea selon que nous lui avions demandé par noz prieres. Quoy voyant, & que le vent pourroit durer de la bande d'où il étoit, derechef avec plus grand espoir que n'avions encor eu, pour la troisième fois nous nous embarquames & fimes voile ledit jour quatorzième Aoust. Celui vent nous favorisa tant, qu'il fit passer la Manche, (qui est vn détroit entre l'Angleterre & Bretagne), le gouffre de Guyenne & de Biscaye, Hespagne, Portugal, le Cap de Saint Vincent, le détroit de Gibraltar appelé les Colomnes de Hercules, les iles de Madere, & les sept iles Fortunées, dites les Canaries. L'une déquelles reconumes, appelée le Pic Tanarifé, des
 152 anciens le Mont Atlas : & de cetui selon les Cosmographes est dite la mer Atlantique. Ce Mont est merveilleusement haut : il se peut voir de vint cinq

lieuës. Nous en approchâmes à la portée du canon le Dimanche¹ vintième jour de nôtre troisième embarquement. Du Havre de Grace jusques audit lieu il y a quinze cens lieuës. Cetui est par les vint & huit degrès au Nort de la ligne Torride. Il y croit, à ce que je puis entendre, des sucres en grande quantité, & de bons vins. Cette ile est habitée des Hespagnols, comme nous sceumes : car comme nous pensions mouiller l'ancre pour demander de l'eau douce & des rafraichissemens, d'une belle Forteresse située au pied d'une montagne, ilz deployerent une enseigne rouge, nous tirans deux ou trois coups de coulevrine, l'un déquels perça le Vice-Amiral de nôtre cōpagnie; c'étoit
 147 sur l'heure de onze ou douze du jour, qu'il faisoit une chaleur merveilleuse sans aucun vêt. Ainsi il nous cōvint soutenir leurs coups. Mais aussi de nôtre part nous les canonâmes tant qu'il y eut plusieurs maisons rôpues & brisées : les femmes & enfans fuyoiēt par les chāps. Si noz barques & bateaux eussēt été hors les navires, je croi que nous eussions fait le Bresil en cette belle ile. Il n'y eut qu'un de noz canoniers qui se blessa en tirāt d'un cardinac, dōt il mourut dix jours après. A la fin l'ô vit que nous ne pouviōs rien pratiquer là que des coups : & pour ce nous nous retirâmes en mer, approchās la côte de Barbarie, qui est une partie d'Afrique. Nôtre vêt secōd nous cōtinua & passâmes la riviere de Loyre en Barbarie, le Promontoire blanc, qui est souz le Tropique de Cancer : & vîmes le huitième jour dudit mois en la hauteur du Promontoire d'Æthiopie, où nous cōmençâmes à sentir la chaleur. De l'ile qu'avions reconuë, jusques audit Promontoire, il y a trois cens lieuës. Cette chaleur extrême causa une fièvre pestilentielle dans le vaisseau où étoit ledit Seigneur, pour raison que les eaux étoient puantes & tant infectes que c'étoit pitié,¹⁵³ & les gens dudit navire ne se pouvoient garder d'en boire. Cette fièvre fut tant contagieuse & pernicieuse, que de cent personnes elle n'en épargna que dix, qui ne fussent malades : & des nonante qui étoiēt malades, cinq moururēt, qui étoit chose pitoyable & pleine de pleurs. Ledit seigneur de Villagagnō fut cōtraint soi retirer dās le Vic'Admiral, où il m'avoit fait embarquer, dās lequel nous étiōs tous dispos & fraiz, biē fachés toute-
 148 fois de l'accidēt qui étoit dās nôtre cōpagnō. Ce promōtoire est quatorze degrez près de la Zone torride : & est la terre habitée des Mores. Là nous faillit nôtre bon vent, & fumes persecutez six jours entiers de bonasses & calmes, & les soirs sur le Soleil couchāt, des tourbillons & vents les plus impetueux & furieux, joints avec pluie tant puante, que ceux qui étoient mouillez de ladite pluie, soudain étoient couvers de grosses pustules, de ces vents tant furieux. Nous n'osions partir, que bien peu, de la grand' voile du Papefust : toutefois le Seigneur nous secourut : car il nous envoya le vent Suroest, contraire neantmoins, mais nous étions trop Occidentaux. Ce vent fut toujours fraiz, qui nous recrea merveilleusemēt l'esprit & le corps, & d'icelui nous côtoyâmes la Guinée, approchans peu à peu de la Zone Torride : laquelle trouvâmes tellement temperée (contre l'opinion des Anciens) que celui qui étoit vêtu n'avoit besoin de se depouiller pour la chaleur. Nous passâmes ledit centre du monde le dixième Octobre près les iles saint Thomas, qui sont droit souz l'Equinoctial, prochaines de la terre de Manicongo. Combien que ce chemin ne nous étoit propre, si est-ce qu'il convenoit faire cette route-là, obeissans au vent qui nous étoit contraire : & tellement y obeîmes que pour trois cens lieuës qu'avions seulement à faire de droit chemin, nous en fîmes mille

¹ Ce Dimâche estoit le premier de Septēbre.

- 154 ou quatorze cens. Voire que si nous eussions voulu aller au Promontoire de Bonne Esperance, qui est trête sept degrez deça la ligne en l'Inde Oriëtale, nous y eussions plutot été qu'au Bresil. Cinq degrez North dudit Equateur, & cinq degrez Suroest du même Equateur, nous trouvames si grād nombre 149 de poissons & de diverses especes, que quelquefois nous pensions être assechez sur lédits poissons. Les especes sont Marsouins, Dauphins, Baleines, Stadins, Dorades, Albacorins, Pelamides, & le poisson volant, que nous voyōs voler en troupe comme les étournaux en nôtre pais. Là nous faillirent nos eaux, sauf celle des ruisseaux, laquelle étoit tant puante & infecte, que nulle infection n'est à y comparer. Quand nous en beuvions, il nous falloit boucher les ieux, & étouper le nez. Étans en ces grandes perplexités & préque hors d'espoir de venir au Bresil, pour le long chemin qui nous restoit, qui étoit de neuf cens à mille lieuës, le Seigneur Dieu nous envoya le vent au Suroüest, dont nous convint mettre la prore à l'Oüest, qui étoit le lieu où nous avions affaire. Et tant fumes portez de ce bon vent, qu'vn Dimanche matin vintième Octobre eumes conoissance d'une belle ile, appelée dans la Charte marine, l'Ascension. Nous fumes tous rejouis de la voir, car elle nous monroit où nous estions, & quelle distance y pouvoit avoir jusques à la terre de l'Amerique. Elle est elevée de huit degrez & demi. Nous n'en peumes approcher plus près que d'une grande lieuë. C'est vne chose merveilleuse que de voir cette ile étant loin de la terre ferme de cinq cens lieuës. Nous poursuivimes nôtre chemin avec vn vent second, & fimes tant par jour & par nuit que le 3. jour de Novembre, vn Dimanche matin, nous eumes conoissance de l'Inde Occidentale, quarte partie du monde, dite Amerique, du nom de celui qui la découvrit l'an mille quatre cens nonante trois. 150
- 155 Il ne faut demander si nous eumes grande joye, & si chacun rendoit graces au Seigneur, veu la pauvreté & le long-temps qu'il y avoit que nous étions partis. Ce lieu que nous découvrimes est par vint degrez, appelé des Sauvages *Pararbe*. Il est habité des Portugais, & d'une nation qui ont guerre mortelle avec ceux auxquels nous avōs alliance. De ce lieu nous avons encore trois degrez jusques au Tropique de Capricorne, qui valent octante lieuës. Nous arrivames le dixième de Novembre en la riviere de *Ganabara*. Elle est droitement souz le Tropique de Capricorne. Là nous mimes pied en terre, chantans loüanges & action de graces au Seigneur. Nous y trouvames de cinq à six cens Sauvages tout nuds, avec leurs arcs & fleches, nous signifians en leurs langages que nous étions les bien venuz, nous offrans de leurs biens, & faisons les feuz de joye de ce que nous étions venuz pour les defendre contre les Portugais, & autres leurs ennemis mortels & capitaux. Le lieu est naturellement beau & facile à garder, à raison que l'entrée en est étroite, close des deux côtez de deux hauts monts. Au milieu de ladite entrée (qui est, possible, de demie lieuë de large) y a vne roche longue de cent pieds, & large de soixante, sur laquelle Monsieur de Villegagnon a fait vn Fort de bois, y mettant vne partie de son artillerie, pour empêcher que les ennemis ne viennent les endommager. Cette riviere est tant spacieuse, que toutes les navires du monde y seroient seurement. 151 Elle est semée de preaux & îles fort belles, garnie de bois toujours verds : à l'une déquelles (étant à la portée du canon du lieu qu'il a fortifié) il a mis le reste de son artillerie & tous ses gens, craignant que s'il se fut mis en terre ferme, les Sauvages ne nous eussent saccagez pour avoir sa marchandise.
- Voila le discours du premier voyage fait en la terre du Bresil ; où je reconois vn grād defaut, soit au Chevalier de Villegagnon, soit en ceux qui l'avoient

envoyé. Car que sert de prendre tant de peine pour aller à vne terre de conquête, si ce n'est pour la posseder entierement? Et pour la posseder, il faut se 156 camper en la terre ferme & la bien cultiver : car en vain habitera-on en vn païs s'il n'y a dequoy vivre. Que si on n'est assez fort pour s'en faire à croire, & commander aux peuples qui occupent le païs, c'est folie d'entreprendre & s'exposer à tant de dangers. Il y a assez de prisons par tout sans en aller chercher si loin.

Quant à ce qui est des mœurs & coutumes des Bresiliens, & du rapport de la terre, nous recueillerons au dernier livre tant ce que l'auteur du Memoire sus-écrit en a dit, que ce que d'autres nous en ont laissé.

Renvoy de l'un des navires en France : Expedition des Genevois pour envoyer au Bresil : Conjuraton contre Villegagnon : Decouverte d'icelle : Punition de quelques-uns : Description du lieu & retraite des François : Parlement del'escoüade Genevoise.

CHAP. II

157 **A** PRES que le sieur de Villegagnon eut dechargé ses vaisseaux, il pensa d'en r'envoyer vn en France, & quant & quant donner avis au Roy, à Monsieur l'Admiral & autres, de tout son voyage, & de l'esperance qu'il avoit de faire là quelque chose de bon qui réussiroit à l'honneur de Dieu, au service du Roy, & au soulagement de plusieurs de ses sujets. Et pour ne manquer de secours & rafraichissement l'an suivant, & ne demeurer là comme dégradé (ainsi que ceux qui étoient anciennement relegués en des iles par maniere de punitiō), connoissant qu'il ne pouvoit rien faire sans ledit Admiral, & qu'il se falloit conformer à son humeur ou quitter l'entreprise, il écrivit aussi particulieremēt à l'Eglise de Geneve & aux Ministres dudit lieu, les requerant de l'aider autant qu'il leur seroit possible à l'avancement de son dessein, & à cette fin qu'on lui envoyat des Ministres & autres personnes bien instruites en la Religion Chrétienne pour endoctriner les Sauvages, & les attirer à la connoissance de leur salut.

Les lettres receuës & leuës, les Genevois, desireux de l'amplification de leur Religion (comme chacun naturellement est porté à ce qui est de sa secte), rendirent solennellement graces à Dieu de ce qu'ilz voyoient le chemin préparé pour établir par-delà leur doctrine, & faire reluire la lumiere de l'Evangile parmi ces peuples barbares, sans Dieu, sans loy, sans religion. Ledit sieur 158 Admiral sollicita par lettres Philippe de Corguilleray, dit le sieur du Pont, son voisin en la terre de Chatillon sur Loin (lequel avoit quitté sa maison pour aller demeurer auprès de Geneve), d'entreprendre le voyage pour conduire ceux qui se voudroient acheminer au Bresil vers Villegagnon. L'Eglise de Geneve aussi l'en pria, & les Ministres encor : si bien que, quoy que vieil & caduc, porté neantmoins de zele & affection, il postposa le soin de sa femme & de ses enfans à cette entreprise, pour laquelle il accepta ce dont il étoit requis.

On lui trouva nombre de jeunes hommes ayans bien étudié, léquelz furent par l'examen trouvés capables de pouvoir instruire ces peuples en la Religion Chrétienne. On lui fournit aussi d'artisans & ouvriers, selon que Villegagnon avoit mandé, léquels sans apprehender la dure façon de vivre qui leur étoit proposée en ce pais-là par les lettres dudit Villegagnon (car il n'y avoit ni pain ni vin, mais au lieu de pain il falloir vser de certaine farine faite d'une racine blanche de laquelle vsent les Bresiliens, comme sera dit en ce même chapitre), de gayeté de cœur suivirent ledit sieur du Pont en nombre de quatorze, sans les manouvriers. D'autres, apprehendans la façon de vivre de delà, aimoiēt mieux 159 flairer l'odeur des cuisines Françaises, ou de Geneve, que le boucan du Bresil : & conoitre ce pais-là par theorieque plutot que par pratique. Mais avant que les

laisser mettre en chemin, il est besoin de dire ce qui se faisoit en la France Antarctique du Bresil parmi la troupe que Villegagnon y avoit menée. Ce que ie feray suivant le memoire d'une seconde lettre envoyée en France au mois de May l'an mil cinq cens cinquante six, conceû en ces mots :

Mes freres & meilleurs amis, &c. Deux jours après le partement des navires (qui fut le quatorzième iour de Fevrier mil cinq cens cinquante-six), nous découvrimes vne coniuration faite par tous les artisans & manouvriers qu'avions amenez, qui étoient au nombre d'une trentaine, contre monsieur de Villegagnon, & tous nous autres qui étions avec lui, dont n'y en avoit que huit de 159 defense. Nous avons sceu que ce avoit été conduit par un Truchement, lequel avoit été donné audit Seigneur par vn Gentil-homme Normand, qui avoit accompagné ledit Seigneur jusques en ce lieu. Ce Truchement étoit marié avec vne femme Sauvage, laquelle il ne vouloit ni laisser, ni la tenir pour femme. Or ledit seigneur de Villegagnon, en son commencement, regla sa maison en homme de bien & craignant Dieu : defendant que nul homme n'eût affaire à ces chiennes Sauvages, si l'on ne les prenoit pour femmes, & sur peine de la mort. Ce Truchement avoit vécu (comme tous les autres vivent) en la plus grande 155 abomination & vie Epicurienne qu'il est possible de raconter : sans Dieu, sans Foy, ne Loy, l'espace de sept ans. Pourtant lui faisoit mal de laisser sa putain, & vie superieure, pour vivre en homme de bien, & en compagnie de Chrétiens. Premièrement il proposa d'empoisonner monsieur de Villegagnon, & nous aussi ; mais vn de ses compagnons l'en détourna. Puis s'adressa à ceux des artisans & manouvriers, léquels il conoissoit vivre en regret, en grand travail, & à peu de nourriture. Car par ce que l'on n'avoit apporté vivres de France, pour vivre en terre, il convint du premier jour laisser le cidre, & au lieu boire de l'eau creuë. Et pour le biscuit s'accommoder à vne certaine farine du país faicte de racines d'arbres, qui ont la fueille comme le *Paoniamas* : & croit plus haut en hauteur qu'un homme. Laquelle soudaine & repentine mutation fut trouvée étrange, mément des artisans, qui n'étoient venus que pour la lucrative & profit particulier. Joint les eaux difficiles, les lieux âpres & deserts, & labeur incroy- 160 able qu'on leur donnoit, pour la necessité de se loger où nous estions : parquoy aisément les seduit, leur proposant la grande liberté qu'ils auroient, & les richesses aussi par après, déquelles ils en donneroient aux Sauvages en abandon, pour vivre à leur desir. Volontiers s'accorderent ces pauvres gens, & à la chaude voulurent mettre le feu aux poudres, qui avoient été mises en vn cellier fait legerement, sur lequel nous couchiôs tous : mais aucuns ne le trouverêt 156 pas bon, parce que toute la marchandise, meubles & joyaux que nous avions eussent été perdus, & n'y eussent rien gagné. Ilz conclurent donc entr'eux de nous venir saccager, & couper la gorge durant que nous serions en nôtre premier somme. Toutefois ils y trouverent vne difficulté, pour trois Ecossois qu'avoit ledit seigneur pour sa garde, léquels pareillement ilz s'efforcèrent de seduire. Mais eux, après avoir connu leur mauvais vouloir, & la chose être certaine, m'en vindrent avertir, & decelerent tout le fait. Ce qu' à l'heure même je declaray audit seigneur & à mes compagnons, pour y remedier. Nous y remediames soudainement, en prenant quatre des principaux, qui furent mis à la chaine & aux fers devant tous : l'auteur n'y étoit pas. Le lendemain, l'un de ceux qui étoit aux fers, se sentant convaincu, se traina près de l'eau & se noya miserablement : vn autre fut étranglé. Les autres servent ores comme esclaves : le reste vit sans murmure, travaillant beaucoup plus diligemment

qu'au paravant. L'auteur truchement (par-ce qu'il n'y étoit pas) fut averti que son affaire avoit été découverte. Il n'est retourné depuis à nous, & se tient maintenant avec les Sauvages, ayant débauché tous les autres Truchements de ladite terre, qui sont au nombre de vint ou vint-cinq : léquels font & disent tout du pis qu'ilz peuvent, pour nous étonner & nous faire retirer en France. Et par-ce qu'il est venu que les Sauvages ont été persecutés d'une fièvre pestilentielle depuis que nous sommes en terre, dont il en est mort plus de huit cens : ilz leur ont persuadé que c'étoit Monsieur de Villegagnon qui les faisoit mourir : parquoy ilz conçoiwent une opinion contre nous en telle sorte qu'ilz nous voudroient faire la guerre si nous étions en terre continente : mais le lieu où nous sommes les retient. Ce lieu est une ilette de six cens pas de long, & 161 de cent de large, environnée de tous côtez de la mer, large & long d'un côté & d'autre de la portée d'une coulevrine, qui est cause qu'eux n'y peuvent approcher, quand leur frenesie les prent. Le lieu est fort naturellement, & par art nous l'avons flanqué & remparé, tellement que quand ilz nous viennent voir dans leurs auges & *almadies*, ilz tremblent de crainte. Il est vray qu'il y a une incommodité d'eau douce, mais nous y faisons une citerne, qui pourra garder & contenir de l'eau, au nombre que nous sommes, pour six mois. Nous avons depuis perdu un grand bateau & une barque, contre les roches : qui nous ont fait grande faute, pour-ce que nous ne sçaurions recouvrer ni eau, ni bois, ni vivres, que par bateaux. Avec ce, un maître charpentier & deux autres manouvriers se sont allez rendre aux Sauvages, pour vivre plus à leur liberté. Nonobstant Dieu nous a fait la grace de resister constamment à toutes ces entreprises, ne nous deffians de sa misericorde. Léquelles choses il nous a voulu envoyer, pour montrer que sa parole prend difficilement racine en un lieu, afin que la gloire lui en soit rapportée : mais aussi quand elle est enracinée, elle dure à jamais. Ces troubles m'ont empêché, que ie n'ay peu reconoitre le païs, s'il y avoit minéraux, 158 ou autres choses singulieres : qui sera pour une autre fois. L'on nous menace fort que les Portugais nous viendront assieger, mais la bonté divine nous en gardera. Je vous supplie tous deux de m'écrire amplement de vos nouvelles, &c. De la riviere de *Ganabara*, au païs du Bresil, en la France Antarctique, souz le Tropique de Capricorne, ce vint-cinquième jour de May, mille cinq cens cinquante-six. Vôte bon amy N. B.

Or pour revenir aux termes de ce que nous avons commencé à dire touchant le voyage du sieur du Pont, les volontaires qui se rangerent de sa troupe partirent de Geneve le dixième de Septembre mille cinq cens cinquante-six, & allerent trouver ledit sieur Admiral en sa maison de Chatillon sur Loin, où il les encouragea à poursuivre leur entreprise, avec promesse de les assister 162 pour le fait de la marine. De là ilz vindrent à Paris, où durant un mois qu'ils y sejournerent, plusieurs Gentils-hommes & autres, avertis de leur voyage, se joignirent avec eux. Puis s'en allerent à Honfleur, où ils attendirent que leurs navires fussent prêts & appareillez pour faire voiles.

¹⁵⁹ *Seconde navigation faite au Bresil aux dépens du Roy : Accident d'une vague de mer : Discours des îles de Canarie : Barbarie pais fort bas : Poissons volans, & autres pris en mer : Tortuës merveilleuses.*

CHAP. III

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TANDIS que les Genevois dispoioient les choses comme nous avons dit, le sieur de Bois-le-Côte, neveu du sieur de Villegagnon, preparoit les vaisseaux à Honfleur, léquels il fit equipper en guerre au nombre de trois, aux dépens du Roy. Fourniz qu'ilz furent de vivres & autres choses necessaires, les ancrs furent levées, & se mirent en mer le dix-neufième Novembre. Ledit sieur de Bois-le-Comte, élu Vice-Admiral de cette flotte, avoit quatre-vints personnes tant soldats que matelots dans son vaisseau : dans le second y en avoit six-vints : dans le troisième il y en avoit environ quatre-vints-dix personnes, compris six jeunes garçons qu'on y menoit pour apprendre le langage du pais, & cinq jeunes filles & vne femme pour les gouverner, afin de commencer à faire multiplier la race des François par-delà.

Au partir les canonades ne manquerent, ni l'éclat des trompettes, ni le ¹⁶⁰ son des tambours & fifres, selō la coutume des navires de guerre qui vont en voyage. Au bout de quelques jours ils arriverent de bon vent aux îles Fortunées, dites Canaries, où quelques matelots penserent mettre pied à terre pour butiner quelque chose, mais ilz furent repoussez par les Hespagnols qui les avoient apperceuz de loin. Le sezième Decembre ilz furent pris d'une forte tempête qui mit à fonds vne barque attachée à vn navire, en laquelle y avoit deux matelots pour la garde d'icelle, qui penserent boire à tous leurs amis pour vne dernière fois. Car il est bien difficile en tel accident de sauver vn homme parmi les fortes vagues de la mer. Neantmoins, après beaucoup de peine, ilz furēt sauvés avec les cordages qu'on leur jetta. En cette tempête ¹⁶⁴ arriva vn hazard fort remarquable, & que je mettray volontiers ici (quoy que je ne me vueille arrêter à toutes les particularitez qu'a écrit Iean de Lery, auteur de l'histoire de ce voyage). C'est que comme le cuisinier eut mis vn matin dessaller dans vn cuvier du lard pour le repas, vn coup de mer sautant impetueusement sur le pont du navire, l'emporta plus de la longueur d'une pique hors le bord (c'est à dire hors le navire), & vne autre vague venant à l'opposite, sans renverser ledit cuvier, de grand roideur le rejetta au même lieu dont il étoit party, avec ce qui étoit dedans. Le même auteur rapporte à propos vn exemple de Valere le Grand que j'ay dés y a long temps admiré : sçavoir d'un matelot qui vuidant l'eau de la basse partie d'un navire (avec la pompe, comme il faut presumer), fut jetté en mer par vn coup de vague, & incontinent ¹⁶¹ repousseé dedans par vne autre vague contraire.¹

Le dix-huitième dudit mois de Decembre noz François decouvrirrent la

¹ Valere, liv. I, chap. 8.

grand'Canarie, ainsi appelée (je croy) à cause des Cannes de sucre qu'elle produit en abondance, & non pour-ce qu'elle produit grande quantité de chiens, ainsi que disent Pline & Solin.¹ A cette ile est voisine celle qui
 165 est aujourd'hui appelée *Teneriffè*, de laquelle nous avons parlé ci-dessus. Et puis que nous sommes sur le propos des iles Canaries, il n'y a point danger de nous y arrêter vn petit, mémemment veu que la possession qu'en ont aujourd'hui les Hespagnols, ilz la doivent aux François. Elles sont sept en nombre, distantes de quarante & cinquante lieuës les vnes des autres, appellées par les Anciens d'un mot general, Fortunées, à cause de leur beauté, & pour la temperature de l'air, n'y ayant jamais ni de froid, ni de chaud excessif, dont ne faut s'étonner si plusieurs les ont pris pour les Hesperides, déquelles les Poëtes ont chanté tant de fables. De ces sept il y en avoit ci-devant quatre Chrétiennes, à sçavoir Lanzarette, Forteventure, la Gomere, & l'ile de Fer. Les trois autres étoient peuplées d'Idolâtres, qui sont appellées la grand'Canarie, *Teneriffè* & la Palme, mais aujourd'hui j'entens qu'elles sont toutes Chrétiennes. Ces peuples avant le Christianisme étoient barbares, toujours en guerre, & se tuoient l'un l'autre comme bêtes; & le plus fort estoit celui qui emportoit la seigneurie & domination d'entr'eux. Ils alloient
 nuds comme ceux de la Nouvelle-France, & ne souffroient aucun approcher 162 de leurs iles. Neantmoins comme les Chrétiens se mettoient quelquefois aux aguets pour les attraper & envoyer vendre en Hespagne, il avoit souvent qu'eux-mêmes étoient pris: mais les Barbares avoient cette humanité qu'ilz ne tuoient point leurs prisonniers, ains leur faisoient faire le plus vil exercice qu'ils estimoient être possible, qui étoit d'écortcher leurs chevres, & les depecer ainsi que font les Bouchers, jusques à ce qu'ils eussent payé leur rançon: & lors ils étoient delivrez. C'a été par le moyen de ces prisonniers que l'on a sceu ce qui est en leurs iles, & leurs coutumes & façons de vivre, que je n'ay entrepris de représenter en ce lieu, pour ne m'égarer de mon sujet. Mais je
 166 repeteray ce que j'ay dé-jà dit, que les Hespagnols doivent aux François la possession qu'ils ont de ces iles, suivant le rapport qu'en fait Pierre Martyr, celui qui a écrit l'histoire des Indes Occidentales, lequel en parle en cette sorte. "Ces isles (dit-il), bien qu'elles fussent venues à la conoissance des anciens, si est-ce que la memoire en étoit effacée: & en l'an mille quatre cens cinq, il y eut vn François de nation, nommé Guillaume de *Bentachor*, lequel ayant congé d'une Royne de Castille de découvrir nouvelles terres, trouva les deux Canaries, qui ores se nomment Lancelotte & Forteventure, léquelles apres sa mort ses heritiers vendirent aux Hespagnols, &c." Ici peut-on remarquer que les Hespagnols, par envie ou autrement, ont voulu obscurcir le nom & la gloire du premier qui a découvert ces iles, apres être demeurées 163 tant de siecles comme ensevelies & hors la conoissance des hommes. Car ce Guillaume de *Bentachor* s'appelloit Betancourt, Gentil-homme de Picardie, lequel par son testament supplia le Roy de Castille d'estre protecteur de ses enfans: mais il aime mieux être protecteur des iles conquises par ledit Betancourt: comme il a fait, & y en a adjouté d'autres, déquelles il a peu plus justement s'emparer.

Quant à la situation de ces iles, tous sont aujourd'hui d'accord qu'elles gisent par les vint-sept degrez & demi au-deça de l'Equateur. Et partant les Geographes & historiens qui ont situé lédites iles par les dix-sept degrés

¹ Solin, chap. 70; Pline, liv. 6, chap. 32.

ou environ, en se trompant en ont trompé beaucoup d'autres, s'étans en cela arrêtés au calcul de Ptolomée, lequel a marqué les iles Fortunées au Promontoire Arsinarie, qui sont les iles du Cap Verd. Mais il y a lieu d'excuser Ptolomée en cet endroit, & dire que ceux qui ont transcrit ses livres, ne pouvans discerner les nombres des Grecs, ont été cause de l'erreur qui se trouve en cet autheur. 167 Car il n'est point à croire qu'un homme tel que lui, qui ne marche qu'avec une grande solidité & doctrine, eût si lourdement choppé en ceci.

Noz François donc ayans passé les Canaries, côtoyerent la Barbarie, habitée des Mores, qui est un pais fort bas, si bien qu'à perte de vue ilz découvroient des campagnes immenses, & leur sembloit qu'ilz deussent aller fonder là dessus. Et comme ordinairement où est la force là est l'insolence, noz gens se sentans 164 forts d'hommes & d'armes, ne faisoient difficulté d'attaquer quelque navire ou caravelle, si elle se rencontroit à leur chemin, & prendre ce que bon leur sembloit. En quoy je ne les veux louer; & valoit mieux faire des amis en s'établissant paisiblement, que de proceder par ces voyes. Aussi Dieu n'a-il point beni leurs entreprises. Es derniers voyages faits en la Nouvelle-France, on y est allé honêtement équipé, & y a eu moyen quelquefois (même de ma conoissance) de prendre le dessus du vent, & faire amener les voiles à plusieurs navires qui se sont rencontrez, mais on n'a jamais mis en avant de leur faire tort. Aussi n'est-ce pas le dessein de ceux qui en ce dernier temps veulent habiter la Nouvelle-France, léquelz ne recherchent que ce que la mer & la terre par un juste exercice leur acquerront, sans envier la fortune d'autrui.

Passage de la Zone Torride : où navigation difficile : & pourquoi. Et surce, Refutation des raisons de quelques auteurs : Route des Hespagnols au Perou : De l'origine du flot de la mer : Vent Oriental perpetuel souz la ligne æquinoctiale : Origine & causes d'icelui, & des vens d'abas, & de Midi : Pluies puantes sous la Zone Torride : Effets d'icelles : Ligne æquinoctiale pourquoy ainsi dite : Pourquoy sous icelle ne se voit ne l'un ne l'autre Pole.

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CHAP. IV

N OZ François étans en ces parties de la Zone Torride à trois ou quatre degrez au-deça de l'Æquateur, ilz trouverent la navigation fort difficile pour l'inconstance de plusieurs vens qui s'assemblent là, & transportent les vaisseaux diversement, à l'Est, au Nort, à l'Oüest, selon qu'ilz se rencontrent. Iean de Lery, cherchant la raison de cela, presuppose que la ligne æquinoctiale tirant de l'Orient à l'Occident soit comme le doz & l'échine du monde à ceux qui voyagent du Nort au Su : tellement que pour y aborder d'une part ou d'autre, il faut comme monter à cette sommité du monde, ce qui est difficile. Il adjoute vne seconde raison, c'est que là est la source des vens, qui soufflans oppositement l'un à l'autre assaillent les vaisseaux de toutes parts. Et pour vn troisième il dit que les Courans de la mer prenans là leur commencement, en rendent les approches difficiles. Or 166 jaoit que ces raisons soient studieusement recherchées, si est-ce que je ne puis bonnement m'y accorder. Car quant à la premiere, il est certain que la terre & la mer faisans un globe rond, il n'y a point d'ascendant plus difficile aupres de la ligne æquinoctiale qu'au 20. 40. & 60. degré. Quant à la seconde, il est certain que le Nort ne prend point là sa source : & l'experience journaliere fait conoitre que souz la ligne & dedans la Torride, les vens de Levant y regnent tousiours soufflans continuellement, sans permettre leurs contraires y avoir aucun accez, ni vent d'Ouest, ni de Midi, qu'on appelle vens d'abas. Et c'est l'occasion pourquoy les Hespagnols qui vont au Perou ont ordinairement plus de 169 peine à gagner les Canaries, qu'en tout le reste du voyage, à cause des vens de Midi, qui commencent là à entrer en force : mais passé icelles, ilz cinglent aisément jusques à entrer en la Torride, où ilz trouvent incontinent ce vent Oriental qui suit le Soleil, & les chasse en poupe de telle sorte, qu'à peine est-il plus besoin en tout le voyage de toucher aux voiles. Pour cette raison, ils appellent ce grand trait de mer, le Golphe des Dames, pour sa douceur & serenité. Et en fin arrivent és iles de la Dominique, Guadelupe, Desirée Marigualante, & les autres qui sont en cette part comme les faux-bourgs des Indes. Mais au retour ilz prennent vn autre chemin, & viennent à la Havane chercher leur hauteur hors le Tropique de Cancer, là où regnent les vens d'abas, ainsi qu'entre les Tropiques le vent de Levant : léquels vës d'abas leur 167 servent jusques à la veuë des Açores ou Tierceres, & de là à Seville. Et pour le regard de la troisième raison, je di qu'en la grande & pleine mer il n'y a

point de Courans, ains les Courans se font quand la mer, resserrée entre deux terres, ne trouve point son passage libre pour continuer son flux, de maniere qu'elle est cōtrainte de roidir son cours ainsi qu'un fleuve qui passe par un canal. Mais posons le cas que son flux prenne là son origine; étant lent en cette haute & spacieuse étendue, il ne fait pas grand empêchemēt aux navires d'aborder l'Æquateur: & puis s'il y a six heures de flux contre les navigans, il y en a autāt pour eux au reflux, sans comprendre le chemin qu'ils avancement d'eux mêmes sans l'aide du flot. Or ne suis-je point d'accord que le principe du flot de la mer soit souz la ligne æquinociale, car il y a plus d'apparence de croire qu'elle n'a qu'un flux qui va d'un Pole à l'autre, en sorte que quand il est Ebe au Pole Arctique, il est flot au Pole Antarctique, que de lui donner double flux: ce qu'il faudra faire si on met le principe de ce flux souz ladite ligne: si ce n'est qu'on vueille dire que le flux de la mer est comme le bouillon d'un pot, lequel s'étend de toutes parts & tout à la fois également. Et si l'on veut sçavoir la cause de ce vent Oriental qui est perpetuel souz cette ligne, qui fait la ceinture du monde, ie m'en arreteray volontiers au jugement du docte naturaliste Joseph Acosta,¹ lequel attribué ceci au premier mobile, dont le mouvement circulaire est si rapide qu'il meine à la danse non seulement tous les autres cieus, mais aussi les elemens plus legers, le feu & l'air, léquels tournent aussi quant & lui de l'Orient en l'Occident en vint-quatre heures; la terre & l'eau demeurans par leur trop grande pesanteur au centre du monde. Or ce mouvement est d'autant plus grand, vehement & puissant, qu'il s'approche de la ligne æquinociale, où est la plus grande circumference du tournoyement du ciel, & diminuë cette vehemence à mesure qu'on s'approche de l'un & de l'autre Tropicque: si bien qu'ès environs d'iceux, par ie ne sçay quelle repercussion du cours & mouvement de la Zone, les vapeurs que l'air attire quant & soy (d'où procedent les vens qui courent d'Orient en Occident) sont contraintes de retourner quasi au contraire; & de là viennent les vens d'abas & Suroest communs & ordinaires hors les Tropiques. Ie di donc que la plus vraisemblable cause de la difficulté qu'ont eu noz François de parvenir à la ligne æquinociale a été qu'ilz n'étoient pas encor' éloignez de terre (témoins les pluies puantes, qui ne venoient d'autre part que des vapeurs terrestres, qui sont grossieres & malfaisantes) & ainsi se trouvoient enveloppez de certains vens terrestres, d'autant plus divers que la terre est inegale, à cause des montagnes & vallées, rivières, lacs, & situations de païs, & de quelques vens maritimes, léquels rencontrans ce vent fort & Oriental conduit par la force du Soleil, & le mouvement du premier mobile, ne pouvoient passer outre, du moins qu'avec un grand combat, qui arrêtoit leurs vaisseaux & les dispersoit ça & là.

Quant aux pluies puantes déquelles ie viens de parler, cela est tout commun au long de la côte de la Guinée souz la Zone torride voisine de la terre: voire est tellement contagieuse, qui si elle tombe sur la chair il s'y levera des pustules & grosses vessies, voire même imprime la tache de sa puanteur és habillemens. D'ailleurs l'eau douce leur faillit, du moins elle se corrompt tellement par les ardātes chaleurs du climat, qu'elle étoit remplie de vers, & falloit en la beuvant tenir la tasse d'une main & se boucher le nez de l'autre, pour l'extrême puanteur qui en sortoit. Le biscuit en fut de même. Car les lōgues pluies ayans penetré jusques dans la Soutē, le gaterent entierement: si bien qu'il falloit manger autant de vers que de pain. Ce qui eût été aucunement tolerable si

¹ Livre 3. de son Histoire naturelle des Indes, chap. 6.

étans en ce mauvais passage ils en fussent bien-tôt sortis, mais ilz furent environ cinq semaines à tournoyer sans pouvoir approcher de cette ligne æquinotiale, à laquelle en fin ils arriverent avec vn vent de Nort-nord'Est le 4. jour de Fevrier 1557. Ici il est bon de dire pour les moins sçavans que cette partie du monde est dite être souz la ligne æquinotiale (autrement souz l'Æquateur) pource que le Soleil venant à cette partie du ciel qui fait le milieu entre les deux Poles (ce qui arrive deux fois l'année, sçavoir l'onzième de Mars, quand il s'approche de nous; & le treizième de Septembre, quand il se recule pour porter l'Été aux terres Antarctiques), les jours & les nuits sont égaux par tout le monde. Et 170 comme le Soleil ayant passé cette ligne noz jours r'acourcissent, aussi venant au deça de la même ligne ilz diminuent aux regions Antarctiques. Or cette ligne n'est qu'une chose imaginaire, mais il est nécessaire vser de ce mot pour entendre 172 la chose & en sçavoir discourir. Et au surplus est à remarquer que les peuples qui habitent souz cette ligne imaginaire ont en tout temps les nuits & les jours égaux, pour raison dequoy aussi elle pourroit bien être dite æquinotiale.

Or comme en beaucoup de choses on fait des ceremonies pour la souvenance, aussi c'est la coutume des matelots (qui se rejouissent volontiers) de faire la guerre à ceux qui n'ont encores passé la ligne æquinotiale, quand ils y arrivent. Ainsi ilz les plongent dans l'eau, ou leur donnēt la bacule, ou les attachent au grand mast pour en avoir memoire. Toutefois il y a moyen de se racheter de cette condamnation en payant le vin des compagnons.

Aydez de ce vent du Nort-nord'Est (comme nous avons dit) ilz franchirent quatre degres au delà de l'Equateur, d'où ilz cōmencerēt à decouvrir le pole Antarctique, ayans demeuré lōg tēps sans voir ni l'un ni l'autre, tant à-cause de quelques calmes, que des vens divers qui se rencōtrent environ le milieu du monde (que je prens souz ladite ligne æquinotiale) allans comme pour combattre & deposseder ce vent Oriental que nous avons dit, lequel ne s'en étonne gueres. Et neantmoins encores qu'on eût le vent à propos, si est-ce qu'étāt au milieu d'une si grande circumferēce qu'est celle du ciel, il n'est pas possible de voir 171 l'un ou l'autre pole, moins les deux ensemble, si tōt qu'on est venu souz ladite ligne, ains faut s'approcher de quelques degrez de l'un ou de l'autre: d'autant que les deux poles sont comme deux points imaginaires & immobiles, ainsi que le point milieu d'une rouē à l'entour duquel se fait le mouvement d'icelle, ou comme les deux points invisibles qu'on se peut imaginer aux deux côtez d'une boule roulante, pour léquels voir tout ensemble il faudroit être au centre de ladite boule; aussi pour voir les deux poles ou essieux du monde, il faudroit être au centre de la terre. Mais y ayant grāde distāce de ce cētre à la superficie d'icelle ou de la mer, de là vient que nonobstant la rondeur de ces deux plus bas elemens, on ne peut si tōt appercevoir le pole quand on est parvenu à la ligne æquinotiale.

Découverte de la terre du Bresil : Margajas quels peuples : Façon de troquer avec les Ou-etacas, peuple le plus barbare de tous les autres : Haute roche appelée l'Emeraude de Mak-hé : Cap de Frie : Arrivée des François à la riviere de Ganabara, où étoit le Sieur de Villegagnon.

CHAP. V

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172 **L**E trezième Fevrier, les maitres de noz navires Françoises ayans pris hauteur à l'astrolabe, se trouverent avoir le Soleil droit pour Zenith : & apres quelques tourmentes & calmes, par vn bon vent d'Est qui dura quelques jours, ils eurent la veuë de la terre du Bresil le vint-sixième de Fevrier mille cinq cens cinquante-sept, au grand contentement de tous, Comme on peut penser, apres avoir demeuré près de quatre mois sur la mer sans prendre port en aucun lieu.

La premiere terre qu'ilz découvrirent est môtueuse, & s'appelle *Huvassou* par les Sauvages de ce pais-là, à l'abord de laquelle (selon la coutume) ilz tirerent quelques coups de canons pour avertir les habitans, qui ne manquerent de se trouver en grande troupe sur la rive. Mais les François ayans reconu que c'étoient *Margajas*, alliez des Portugais, & par cōséquent leurs ennemis, ilz ne descendirent point à terre, sinon quelques matelots qui dās vne barque allerent près du rivage à la portée de leurs fleches, leur montrans des couteaux, miroirs, peignes, & autres bagatelles, pour léquelles ilz leur demanderent des vivres. Ce que les Sauvages firēt en diligēce, & apporterēt de leur farine de racines, des jambons & de la chair d'vne certaine espece de sanglier qu'ils ont, avec autres victuailles & fruits, telz que le pais les porte : car en cette saison là, quoy que ce fût le mois de Fevrier, les arbres étoient aussi verds qu'ilz sont ici en Juin. Les Sauvages ne furent point tant scrupuleux d'aborder les navires François. Car il y en vint six avec vne femme entierement nuds, peints, & noircis par tout le corps, ayans les lèvres de dessouz percées, & en chaque trou vne pierre verte, bien polie, & proprement appliquée, & de la largeur 174 d'vn teston, pour être plus coints & jolis. Mais quand la pierre est levée, ilz sont effroyablement hideux, ayans comme deux bouches au dessouz du nez. La femme avoit les oreilles de même si hideusemēt percées, que le doigt y pourroit entrer, auxquelles elle portoit des pendans d'os blancs, qui lui battoient sur les épaules. Ces Sauvages eussent fort désiré qu'on se fût arrêté, là mais on ne s'y voulut pas fier, joint qu'il falloit tendre ailleurs. A neuf ou dix lieuës de là les Frâçois se trouverent à l'endroit d'vn Fort des Portugais dit par eux *Spiritus Sanctus*, & par les Sauvages *Moab*, qui est par les vints degrez auelà de l'Æquateur. Les gardes de ce Fort, reconoissans à l'equipage que ce n'étoient de leurs gens, tirerent trois coups de canon sur les François, léquels firent de même envers eux, mais l'vn & l'autre en vain. De là passerent auprés d'vn lieu nommé *Tapemiri*, & plus avant vindrent cotoyāt les *Paráibes* : outre léquels tirans vers le Cap de Frie il y a des basses & écueils

entremélez de pointes de rochers qu'il faut soigneusement éviter. Et à cet endroit y a vne terre plaine d'environ quinze lieuës de lōgueur, habitée par vn certain peuple farouche & étrange nommé *Ou-etacas*, dispos du pied autant & plus que les cerfs & biches, léquels ils prennent à la course : portent les cheveux lōgs jusques aux fesses, cōtre la coutume des autres Bresiliërs qui les rongnēt par derriere : mangēt la chair creuë : ont lāgage particulier : n'ont aucun trafic avec les nations de deça, d'autant qu'ils ne veulēt point que leur païs soit connu : semblables aux Hespagnols de l'Amerique, qui ne souffrent aucune nation étrangere vivre parmi eux. Toutefois quand les voisins de ces *Ou-etacas* ont quelques marchandises dont ilz les veulent accommoder, voici¹⁷⁴ leur façon & maniere de permuer. Le *Margaja*, *Caraja* ou *Tououpinambaoult* (qui sont les peuples voisins d'iceux) ou autres Sauvages de ce païs-là, sans¹⁷⁵ se fier, ni approcher de l'*Ou-etacas*, lui montrant de loin ce qu'il aura, soit serpe, soit couteau, peigne, miroir, ou autre chose, il lui fera entendre par signes s'il veut échanger quelque chose à cela. Que si l'*Ou-etacas* s'y accorde, lui montrant au reciproque de la plumasserie, des pierres vertes, pour servir d'ornement à la lèvre d'embas, ou autre chose provenant de leur terre, le premier mettra sa marchandise sur vne pierre, ou piece de bois, & se retirera, & lors l'*Ou-etacas* apportera ce qu'il aura & le lairra à la place ; puis se retirant, permettra que le *Margaja*, ou autre le vienne querir : & jusques là se tiennent promesse l'un à l'autre. Mais chacun ayant son change, si tôt que l'un & l'autre est retourné en ses limites d'où il avoit parlementé, les trêves rompuës, c'est à qui pourra attrapper son compagnon : ainsi que noz soldats és dernieres guerres, sortans de quelque ville neutre, telle qu'étoit la petite ville de Vervin en Tierache, lieu de ma naissance, appartenant à la tres-illustre maison de Couci. Apres avoir laissé derriere ces espiegles d'*Ou-etacas*, ilz passerent à la veuë d'un autre païs voisin nommé *Mak-bé*, d'où certes les habitās n'ont besoin de tousjours dormir, ayās de tels reveils-matin auprès d'eux. En cette terre, & sur le bord de la mer, se voit vne grosse roche faite en forme de tour, laquelle aux rayons du Soleil reluit & brille si fort, qu'aucuns pensent que ce¹⁷⁵ soit vne sorte d'Emeraude. Et de fait les mariniers tant Portugais que François l'appellent l'Emeraude de *Mak-bé*. Mais le lieu est inaccessible étant environné de mille pointes de rochers qui se jettent fort avant en mer.

Là près y a trois petites iles, dites les iles de *Mak-bé*, où ayans mouillé l'ancre, vne tempête de nuit se leva si furieuse que le cable d'un des navires fut rompu, tellement que porté à la merci des Sauvages contre terre il vint jusques à deux brasses d'eau. Ce que voyans le Maitre & le Pilote, comme au desespoir ilz crièrent deux ou trois fois nous sommes perdus. Toutefois en ce besoin les matelots ayans fait diligence de jeter vne autre ancre, Dieu voulut qu'elle¹⁷⁶ tint, & par ce moyen furent sauvez. C'est chose rude qu'une tēpête en pleine mer, où l'on ne voit que montagnes d'eau & profōdes vallées ; mais encore n'est-ce que jeu au pris du peril où est reduit vn vaisseau qui est sur vne côte en perpetuel danger de s'aller échouër sur la rive, ou briser contre les rochers. Mais en pleine mer on ne craint point tout cela, quand on a fait diligence d'ammener les voiles à temps. Vray est qu'on est balotté de merveilleuse façon en telle occasion, mais le peril en est dehors, l'entens en vn bon vaisseau : car vn coup de mer emportera quelquesfois vn quartier d'un mauvais navire, comme i'ay ouï reciter n'a pas long temps d'un Capitaine qui fut emporté étant dans sa chambre vers le gouvernail. La tempête passée, le vent vint à souhait

176 pour gagner le Cap de Frie, port & havre des plus renommés en ce païs-là pour la navigation des François. Là, apres avoir mouillé l'ancre & tiré quelques coups de canôs, ceux qui se mirent à terre trouverent d'abordée grand nombre de Sauvages nommez *Tououpinambaouls*, alliez & confederez de nôtre nation, léquels, outre la caresse & bonne reception, dirent à noz François des nouvelles de *Paycolas* (ainsi nommoient-ilz le sieur de Villegagnon). En ce lieu ilz virent nombre de perroquets, qui volent par troupes, & fort haut, & volontiers s'accouplent comme les tourterelles. Partis de là ayans vent à propos, ils arriverent au bras de mer & riviere nommée *Ganabara* par les Sauvages, & Genevre par les Portugais, le septième Mars mil cinq cens cinquante-sept, où d'environ vn quart de lieuë loin ilz saluerent ledit sieur de Villegagnon à force de canonades, & lui leur rendit la pareille en grande jouissance.

Comme le sieur du Pont exposa au sieur de Villegagnon la cause de sa venuë, & de ses compagnons : Réponse dudit sieur de Villegagnon : Et ce qui fut fait au Fort de Colligni apres l'arrivée des François.

CHAP. VI

ETANS descendus à terre en l'île où le sieur de Villegagnon s'étoit logé, la troupe rendit graces à Dieu, puis alla trouver ledit sieur de Villegagnon, qui les attendoit en vne place, où il les receut avec beaucoup de demonstration de joye & contentement. Apres les accolades faites, le sieur du Pont commence à parler & lui exposer les causes de leur voyage fait avec tant de perils, peines, & difficultez, qui étoient en vn mot pour dresser vne Eglise, qu'il appelloit reformée selon la parole de Dieu, en ce païs-là, suivant ce qu'il avoit écrit à ceux qui les avoient envoyés. A quoy il répondit (ce dit l'Autheur) qu'ayant voirement dés long temps & de tout son cœur désiré telle chose, il les recevoit volontiers à ces conditions : même par ce qu'il vouloit leur Eglise être la mieux reformée pardessus toutes les autres, il declara qu'il entendoit dés lors que les vices fussent reprimez, la sumptuosité des accoutremens reformée (je ne puis croire qu'il en fût si tôt de besoin), & en somme tout ce qui pourroit apporter de l'empêchement au pur service de Dieu. Puis levant les yeux au ciel, & joignant les mains : Seigneur Dieu (dit-il), je te rend graces de ce que tu m'as envoyé ce que dés si long temps je t'ay si ardamment demandé. Et derechef s'adressant à eux dit : Mes enfans (car je veux estre vôtre pere), comme Iesus-Christ étant en ce monde n'a rien fait pour lui, ains tout ce qu'il a fait a été pour nous : aussi ayant cette esperance que Dieu me preservera en vie jusques à ce que nous soyons fortifiés en ce païs, & que vous-vous puissiez passer de moy, tout ce que je pretens 178 faire ici, est tant pour vous que pour tous ceux qui y viendront à même fin que vous êtes venus. Car ie delibere de faire vne retraite aux pauvres fideles qui serôt persecutez en France, en Hespagne & ailleurs outre mer, afin que sans 178 crainte ni du Roy, ni de l'Empereur, ou d'autres Potentats, ils y puissent purement servir à Dieu selon sa volonté.

Après cet accueil la compagnie entre dans vne petite salle qui étoit au milieu de l'île, & chanterent le Psalme cinquième, qui commence selon la traduction de Marot : *Aux paroles que ie veux dire, &c.*, lequel fut suivi d'un préche, où le Ministre Richer print pour texte ces versets du Psalme 26. & entre les Hebreux 27. *Je demande vne chose au Seigneur, laquelle ie requerray encore, C'est que j'habite en la maison du Seigneur tous les iours de ma vie :* durant l'exposition déquels Villegagnon ne cessoit de joindre les mains, lever les ieux au ciel, faire des soupirs, & autres semblables contenances, si-bien que chacun s'en émerveilloit. Apres les prières, tous se retirerent horsmis les nouveaux venus, léquels dinerent en la même salle, mais ce fut un diner de Philosophe, sans excez. Car pour toutes viandes ilz n'eurent que de la farine de racines, à la

façon des Sauvages, du poisson boucané, c'est à dire roti, & quelques autres sortes de racines cuites aux cendres. Et pour breuvage (parce qu'en cette ile n'y a point d'eau douce) ilz beurent de l'eau des égouts de l'île, lesquels on faisoit venir dans vn certain reservoir ou citerne, en façon de ces fossés où barbotent les grenouilles. Vray est qu'elle valoit mieux que celle qu'il falloit boire sur la mer. Mais il n'est pas besoin d'être toujours en souffrance. C'est vne des principales parties d'une habitation d'avoir les eaux douces à
 179 commandement. La vie depend de là, & la conservation du lieu qu'on habite, lequel ayant ce defect ne peut soutenir un long siege. Le sieur de Mōs, ces années dernieres s'étant logé en vne ile semblable, fut incommodé pour les eaux, mais vis à vis en la terre ferme y avoit de beaux ruisseaux gazouillans à-travers les bois, où ses gens alloient faire la lécive & autres necessitez du ménage. Ce qui me fait dire que puis qu'il faut bâtir en vne ile & s'y fortifier, il vaut beaucoup mieux employer ce travail sur la rive d'une riviere qui servira toujours de rempar en son endroit. Car ayant la terre ferme libre, on y peut labourer & avoir les commoditez du pais plus à l'aise, soit pour se fortifier, soit pour preparer les moyens de vivre.

Il trouve vn autre defect en ceux qui ont fait tant les voyages du Bresil que de la Floride, c'est de n'avoir porté grande quantité de blés & farines, & chairs salées pour vivre au moins vn an ou deux, puis que le Roy fournissoit honnêtement aux fraiz de l'equipage, sans s'en aller par-delà pour y mourir de faim, par maniere de dire. Ce qui étoit fort aisé à faire, veu la fecondité de la France en toutes ces choses qui lui sont propres, & ne les emprunte point ailleurs.

Le sieur de Villegagnon ayant ainsi traité ses nouveaux hôtes, s'avisa de les embesogner à quelque chose, de peur que l'oisiveté ne leur engourdit les membres. Il les employa donc à porter des pierres & de la terre pour le Fort cōmun qu'ils avoient nommé Colligni. En quoy ils eurent assés à
 180 souffrir, attendu le travail de la mer, duquel ilz se ressentoient encor', le mauvais logement, la chaleur du pais, & l'écharse nourriture, qui étoit en somme par chacun jour deux gobelets de farine dure faite de racines, d'une partie de laquelle ilz faisoient de la bouillie, avec de l'eau que nous avons dit des égouts de l'île. Toutefois le desir qu'ils avoient de s'établir & faire quelque chose de bon en ce pais-là leur faisoit prendre le travail en patience, & en oublier la peine. Même le Ministre Richer, pour les encourager davantage, disoit qu'ils avoient trouvé vn second Saint Paul en la personne dudit Villegagnon, comme de fait tous lui donnent cette louange de n'avoir jamais ouï mieux parler de la Religion & reformation Chrétienne qu'à lui. Ce qui leur augmentoit la force & le courage parmi la debilité où ilz se trouvoient.

Ordre pour le fait de la Religion : Pourquoi Villegagnon a dissimulé sa Religion : Sauvages amenés en France : Mariages célébrés en la France Antarctique : Debats pour la Religion : Conspiration contre Villegagnon : Rigueur d'icelui : Les Genevois se retirent d'avec lui : Question touchant la celebration de la Cene à faute de pain & de vin.

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CHAP. VII

D'AVTANT que la Religion est le lien qui maintient les peuples en concorde, & est comme le pivot de l'Etat, dès la premiere semaine que les François furent arrivés auprès de Villegagnon, il établit vn ordre pour le service de Dieu, qu'outre les prieres publiques qui se faisoient tous les soirs apres qu'on avoit laissé la besongne, les Ministres precheroient deux fois le Dimanche, & tous les jours ouvriers vne heure durant : declarant aussi par exprés, qu'il vouloit & entendoit que sans aucune addition humaine les Sacremens fussent administrez selon la pure parole de Dieu, & qu'au reste la discipline Ecclesiastique fût pratiquée contre les defaillans. Suivant quoy le Dimanche vint-vnième de Mars ilz firent la celebration de leur Cene, apres avoir catechizé tous ceux qui y devoient communier. Et ce faisant firent sortir les matelots & autres Catholiques, disans qu'ilz n'estoient pas capables d'un tel mystere. Et lors Villegagnon s'étant mis à genoux sur vn careau de velours, lequel son page portoit ordinairement apres lui, fit deux prieres publiques & à haute voix, rapportées par Iean de Leri en son histoire du Bresil, léquelles finies, il se presenta le premier à la Cene, & receut à genoux le pain & le vin de la main du Ministre. Et neantmoins on tient qu'il y avoit de la simulation en son fait : car quoy que lui & vn certain Maitre Iean Cointa (qu'on dit avoir été Docteur de la Sorbonne) eussent abjuré publiquement l'Eglise Catholique-Romaine, si est-ce qu'ilz ne demeurèrent gueres à émouvoir des disputes touchant la doctrine, & principalement sur le point de la Cene. Voire même il y a apparence que Villegagnon ne fut iamais autre que Catholique, en ce qu'il avoit ordinairement en main les œuvres du subtil l'Escot pour se tenir prêt à la defense contre les Calvinistes sur toutes les disputes susdites. Mais il luy sembloit être necessaire de faire ainsi, ne pouvant venir à chef d'une telle entreprise s'il n'eût eu apparence d'être des pretenduz reformez, du côté déquels d'ailleurs s'il se fût voulu maintenir, il étoit en danger d'être accusé envers le Roy (qui le tenoit pour Catholique) par les Catholiques qui étoient avec lui, & de perdre vne pension de quelques milles de livres que sa Majesté lui bailloit. Toutefois, faisant toujours bonne mine, & protestant ne desirer rien plus que d'être droitement enseigné, il renvoya en France le Ministre Chartier, dans l'un des navires, lequel (apres qu'il fut chargé de Bresil & autres marchandises du país) partit le quatrième de Juuin pour s'en revenir, afin que sur ce different de la Cene il rapportât les opinions des Docteurs de sa secte.

Dans ce navire furent apportés en France dix jeunes garçons Bresiliens, âgés de neuf à dix ans & au dessous, lesquels ayans été pris en guerre par les Sauvages amis des François, avoient été venduz pour esclaves audit Villegagnon. Le Ministre Richer leur imposa les mains, & prières furent faites pour eux avant que partir, à ce qu'il pleût à Dieu en faire des gens de bien. Ilz furent présentés au Roy Henry second, lequel en fit present à plusieurs grans Seigneurs de sa Court.

Au surplus, le troisième Avril precedent se celebrerent les premiers mariages ¹⁸³ des François qui ayent jamais été faits en ce pais-là; ce fut de deux jeunes hommes ¹⁸³ domestics de Villegagnon avec deux de ces jeunes filles que nous avons dit avoir été menées au Bresil. Il y avoit des Sauvages presens à telles solemnitez, lesquels étoient tout étonnez de voir des femmes Françaises vêtues & parées au jour des nopces. Le dix-septième de May ensuivant se maria semblablement maitre Iean Cointa (que l'on nommoit monsieur Hector) à vne autre de ces jeunes filles. Comme le feu fut mis aux étoupes, deux autres filles qui restoient ne demeurerent gueres à être mariées, & s'il y en eût eu davantage, c'en eût été bien-tôt fait. Car il y avoit là force gens deliberez qui ne demandoient pas mieux que d'aider à remplir cette nouvelle terre. Et de prendre en mariage des femmes infideles il n'étoit pas juste, la loy de Dieu¹ étant rigoureuse alencontre de ceux qui font telle chose, laquelle même en la loy Evangelique est aussi defenduë par l'Apôtre saint Paul,² quand il dit: *Ne vous accouplez point avec les infideles*, là où jaçoit qu'il discoure de la profession de la foy, toutefois cela se peut fort commodement rapporter au fait des mariages. Et en l'ancien Testament³ il étoit defendu d'accoupler à la charruë deux animaux de diverses especes. Il est vray qu'il est aisé en ce pais-là de faire d'une infidele vne Chrétienne, & se fussent peu telz mariages contracter s'il y eût eu vne demeure bien solide & arretée pour les François.

Ce sujet de conjunction charnelle avec les femmes infideles fut cause que sur l'avis qu'eut Villegagnon que certains Normans s'étas autrefois dès y avoit ¹⁸⁴ long tēps sauvés du naufrage, & devenus comme Sauvages, paillardoient avec les femmes & filles, & en avoient des enfans; pour obvier à ce que nul des siens n'en abusat de cette façon, par l'avis du Conseil fit defenses à peine de la vie que nul ayant tiltre de Chrétien n'habitât avec les femmes & filles des Sauvages, sinon qu'elles fussent instruites en la conoissance de Dieu, & baptisées. Ce ¹⁸⁴ qui n'arriva point en tous les voyages des François par-delà, car ce peuple est si peu susceptible de la Religion Chrétienne (dit Iean de Leri), qu'il n'a point été possible en trois ans d'en donner aucun asseuré fondement au cœur de pas vn d'eux. Ce qui n'est pas en nôtre Nouvelle-France. Car toutes & quantes fois que l'on voudra (par la grace de Dieu & de son saint Esprit) ilz seront Chrétiens, & sans difficulté recevront la doctrine de salut. Je le dy, pour ce que je le sçay par mon experience, & en ay fait des plaintes en mon Adieu à la Nouvelle France.

Or, pour revenir au different de la Cene, la Pentecoste venuë, nouveau debat s'éleve encore tant pour ce sujet qu'autres points. Car jaçoit que Villegagnon eût au commencement déclaré qu'il vouloit bannir de la Religion toutes inventions humaines, toutefois il mit en avât qu'il falloir mettre de l'eau au vin de ladite Cene, & vouloit que cela se fit, disant que saint Cyprien & saint Clement

¹ Exod. 24; Levit. 7; Nomb. 25.

² En la 2. aux Cor., chap. 6, vers. 14.

³ Deut. 22, vers. 10.

l'avoient écrit : qu'il falloit mêler l'usage du sel & de l'huile avec l'eau du baptême : qu'un Ministre ne se pouvoit marier en secondes nopces ; amenant pour preuve le passage de S. Paul à Timothée¹ : Que l'Evêque soit mari d'une seule femme. Somme, il s'en fit à croire : & fit faire des leçons publiques de Theologie à Maître Jean Cointa, lequel se mit à interpreter l'Evangile selon saint Iean, qui est la Theologie la plus sublime & relevée. Le feu de division ainsi allumé entre ce petit peuple ; Villegagnon, sans attendre la resolution que le Ministre Chartier devoit apporter, dit ouvertemēt qu'il avoit changé l'opinion qu'il disoit autrefois avoir eue de Calvin, & que c'étoit un heretique dévot de la Foy. On tient que le Cardinal de Lorraine, par quelques lettres, l'avoit
 185 fort âprement repris de ce qu'il avoit quitté la Religion Catholique-Romaine, & que cela lui donna sujet de faire ce qu'il fit ; mais, comme l'ay des-ja dit, il ne pouvoit bonnement entreprendre les voyages du Bresil sans le support de l'Admiral, pour à quoy parvenir il fallut faire du reformé. Dès lors il commença à devenir chagrin, & menacer par le corps de Saint Iacques (c'étoit son serment ordinaire) qu'il romproit bras & jambes au premier qui le facherait. Ces rudesses, avec le mauvais traitement, firent conspirer quelques-uns contre lui, lesquels ayant découvert, il en fit jeter une partie en l'eau, & châtia le reste. Entre autres un nommé François la Roche, qu'il tenoit à la cadene : l'ayant fait venir, il le fit coucher tout à plat contre terre, & par un de ses satellites lui fit battre le ventre à coups de batons, à la mode des Turcs, & au bout de là il falloit aller travailler. Ce que quelques-uns ne pouvans supporter, s'allèrent rendre parmy les Sauvages. Jean de Lery, qui n'aime guerres la memoire de Villegagnon, rapporte d'autres actes de sa severité : & remarque que
 186 par ses habits (qu'il prenoit à rechange tous les jours, & de toutes couleurs) on jugeoit dès le matin s'il seroit de bonne humeur ou non, & quand on voyoit le jaune ou le vert en pais, on se pouvoit asseurer qu'il n'y faisoit pas beau : mais sur tout quand il étoit paré d'une robe de camelot jaune bendée de velours noir, ressemblant (ce disoient aucuns) son enfant sans souci.

Finalement les François venus de Geneve, se voyans frustrez de leur attente, lui firent dire par leur Capitaine le sieur du Pont, que puis qu'il avoit rejeté l'Evāgile, ilz n'étoient plus à son service, & ne vouloient plus travailler au Fort. Là dessus on leur retranche les deux gobelets de farine de racines qu'on avoit accoutumé leur bailler par chacun jour : dequoy ilz ne se tourmenterent guerres : car ils en avoient plus pour une serpe, ou deux ou trois couteaux qu'ils échangeoient aux Sauvages, qu'on ne leur en eût sceu bailler en demi an. Ainsi furent bien aises d'être delivrez de sa sujétion. Et neantmoins cela
 186 n'aggreoit pas beaucoup à Villegagnon, lequel avoit bien envie de les domter, s'il eût peu, & comme il est bien à presumer : mais il n'étoit pas le plus fort. Et pour en faire preuve, certains d'entre eux ayans pris congé du Lieutenant de Villegagnon, sortirent une fois de l'île pour aller parmi les Sauvages, où ilz demeurèrent quinze jours. Villegagnon feignant ne rien sçavoir dudit congé, & par ainsi prétendant qu'ils eussent enfreint son ordonnance portant defense de sortir de ladite île sans licence, leur voulut mettre les fers aux piés, mais se
 187 sentans supportez d'un bon nombre de leurs compagnons mal-contens & bien vnus avec eux, lui dirent tout à plat qu'ilz ne souffriroient pas cela, & qu'ils étoient affranchis de son obeissance, puis qu'il ne les vouloit maintenir en

¹ I. à Timothée, 3.

l'exercice & liberté de leur Religion. Cette audace fit que Villegagnon appaisa sa colere. Sur cette rencontre il y en eut plusieurs & des principaux de ses gens (pretendus reformez) qui desiroient fort d'en voir vne fin & le jetter en l'eau, à fin (disoient-ilz) que sa chair & ses grosses épaules servissent de nourriture aux poissons. Mais le respect de monsieur l'Admiral (qui souz l'autorité du Roy l'avoit envoyé) les retint. Aussi qu'ils ne laissoient de faire leur preche sans lui, horsmis que pour obvier à trouble ilz faisoient leur Cene de nuit, & sans son sceu. Sur laquelle Cene, comme le vin porté de France vint à defaillir & n'y en avoit plus qu'un verre, il y eut question entre-eux, sçavoir si à faute de vin ilz se pourroient servir d'autres bruvages communs aux pais où ils étoient. Cette question ne fut point resoluë, mais seulement debattuë, les vns disans qu'il ne falloit point changer la substance du Sacrement, & plutot que de ce faire il vaudroit mieux s'en abstenir: Les autres au contraire disans que lors que Iesus-Christ institua sa Cene, il avoit vsé du bruvage ordinaire en la Province où il étoit: & que s'il eût été en la terre du Bresil, il est vray-semblable qu'il eût vsé de leur farine de racine en lieu de pain, & de leur breuvage au lieu de vin. Et partant faut qu'au defaut de nôtre pain & nôtre vin, ilz ne feroient point difficulté de s'accommoder à ce qui tient lieu de pain & de vin. Et de ma part, quand ie considere la varieté du monde, & que la terre en tout endroit ne produit pas mêmes fruits & semences, ains que les pais meridionaux en rapportent d'une autre sorte, & les Septentrionaux d'une autre, ie trouve que la question n'est pas petite, & eût bien merité que saint Thomas d'Aquin en eût dit quelque chose. Car de reduire ceci tellement à l'éetroit qu'il ne soit loisible de communiquer la Sainte Eucharistie que souz l'espece de pain de pur froment, souz ombre qu'il est écrit *Cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti*, cela est bien dur: & faut considerer qu'il y a plus des deux parts du monde qui n'vsent pas de nôtre froment, & toutefois à faute de cela ne devoient pas être exclus du Sacrement, s'ilz se trouvoient disposés à le recevoir dignement, ayans du pain de quelque autre sorte de grain. Et si l'on considere bien le passage susdit du Psalme 81. on trouvera qu'il ne donne point loy en cet endroit, d'autant que là nôtre Dieu dit à son peuple que s'il eût écouté sa voix, & cheminé en ses voyes, il lui eût fait des biens exprimez audit lieu du Psalme, & l'eût repeu de la graisse de froment, & saoulé du miel tiré de la roche. Pour le vin, il n'y en a point souz la ligne æquinotiale non plus qu'au Nort. Ceux-ci boivent de l'eau, & ceux-là font du vin des palmiers, & du fruit d'iceux nommé Coccus. En somme, l'Eglise qui sçait dispenser de beaucoup de choses selon le temps, & lieux, & personnes, comme elle a dispensé les laics de l'vsage du Calice, & en certaines Eglises du pain sans levain; aussi pourroit elle bien dispenser là dessus, étant vne même chose: Car elle ne veut point que ses enfans meurent de faim, non plus souz le Pole qu'és autres lieux. Si quelqu'un dit qu'on y en peut porter des pais lointains, ie lui repliqueray qu'il y a plusieurs peuples qui n'ont dequoy fournir à la dépense d'une navigation: & on ne va point en pais étranger (nommément au Nort) pour plaisir, ains pour quelque profit. Ioint à ceci que les navigations sur l'Océan sont, par maniere de dire, encore recentes, & étoit bien difficile auparavant l'invention de l'eguille marine, de trouver le chemin à de si lointaines terres. Ceci soit dit souz la correction des plus sages que moy.

Or en fin Villegagnon se voulant depettrer des pretenduz reformez, detestant publiquement leur doctrine, leur dit qu'il ne vouloit plus les souffrir en son Fort,

ni en son ile, & partât qu'ils en sortissent. Ce qu'ilz firent (quoy qu'ils eussent peu remuer du ménage) après y avoir demeuré environ huit mois, & se retirerent en la terre ferme, attendans qu'un navire du Havre de Grace là venu pour charger du bresil fût pret à partir, où par l'espace de deux mois ils eurent des frequentes visites des Sauvages circonvoisins.

190 *Description de la riviere, ou Fort de Ganabara : Ensemble de l'île où est le Fort de Colligni : Ville-Henry de Thevet : Baleine dans le Port de Ganabara : Baleine échouée.*

CHAP. VIII

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DEVANT que remener nos Genevois en France, après avoir vu leurs cōportemens au Bresil, & ceux du sieur de Villegagnon, il est à propos de contenter les plus curieux en décrivant vn peu plus amplement qu'il n'a été fait ci-devant, le lieu où ils avoient jetté les premiers fondemens de la France Antarctique. Car quant aux mœurs du peuple, animaux quadrupedes, volatiles, reptiles & aquatiques, bois, herbes, fruits de ce país-là, selon qu'il viendra à propos nous les toucherons au sixième livre en parlant de ce qui est en nôtre Nouvelle-France Arctique & Occidentale.

Nous avons dit que Villegagnon arrivant au Bresil, ancre en la riviere dite par les Sauvages *Ganabara*, & Genevre par les Portugais, parce qu'ilz la découvrirent le premier de Janvier, qu'ilz nomment ainsi. Cette riviere demeure par les vint-trois degrez au-delà de la ligne æquinoctiale, & droit souz le Tropique de Capricorne. Le port en est beau & de facile defense, comme se peut voir par le pourtrait que i'en ay ici representé, & d'une etenduë comme d'une mer. Car il s'avance environ de douze lieuës dans les terres en longueur, & en quelques endroits il a sept ou huit lieuës de large. Et quant au reste il est environné de montagnes de toutes parts, si bien qu'il ne ressembleroit pas mal au lac de Geneve, ou de Leman, si les montagnes des envirs étoient aussi hautes. Son embouchure est assez difficile, à cause que pour y entrer il faut côtoyer trois petites îles inhabitables, contre lesquelles les navires sont en danger de heurter & se briser si elles ne sont bien conduites. Apres cela il faut passer par vn détroit, lequel n'ayant pas demi quart de lieuë de large, est limité du côté gauche (en y entrant) d'une montagne & roche pyramidale, laquelle n'est pas seulement d'émervellable & excessive hauteur, mais aussi à la voir de loin on diroit qu'elle est artificielle. Et de fait parce qu'elle est ronde, & semblable à vne grosse tour, noz François l'appelloient le pot de beurre. Vn peu plus avant dans la riviere y a vn rocher assez plat, qui peut avoir cent ou six-vints pas de tour, sur lequel Villegagnon à son arrivée, ayant premierement déchargé ses meubles & son artillerie, s'y pensa fortifier, mais le flux & reflux de la mer l'en chassa. Vne lieuë plus outre est l'île où demouroiēt les François, ayans seulement vne petite demie lieuë de circuit, & étant beaucoup plus longue que large, environnée de petits rochers à fleur d'eau, qui empêche que les vaisseaux n'en puissent approcher plus près que de la portée du canon, ce qui la rend merveilleusement forte. Et de fait il n'y a moyen aborder; même avec les petites barques, sinon du côté du Port, lequel est encore à l'opposite de l'avenüë de la grand' mer. Or cette île étant rehaussée de deux montagnes aux deux bouts, Villegagnon fit faire sur chacune d'icelles vne maisonnette, comme aussi sur vn rocher de cinquante ou soixante piës de haut qui est au milieu de l'île, il avoit

fait batis sa maison. De côté & d'autre de ce rocher on avoit aplani des petites places, équelles étoit batie tant la salle où l'on s'assembloit pour faire les prieres publiques & pour manger, qu'autres logis, équels (compris les gens de Villegagnon) environ quatre-vingts personnes qu'étoient noz François faisoient leur retraite. Mais faut noter que (excepté la maison qui est sur la roche, où il y a vn peu de charpenterie, & quelques boulevers mal-batis, sur léquels l'artillerie étoit placée) toutes ces demeures ne sont pas des Louvres, mais des loges faites de la main des Sauvages, couvertes d'herbes & gazons, à leur mode. Voila l'état du Fort que Villegagnon pour aggréer à l'Admiral, nomma Colligni
 191 en la France Antarctique, nom de triste augure (dit vn certain Historien) duquel faute de bonne garde il s'est laissé chasser par les Portugais, au grand des-honneur de lui & du nom François, après tant de frais, de peines & de difficultés. Il vaudroit beaucoup mieux demeurer en sa maison que d'entreprendre pour être moqué par après, principalement quand on a des-ja vn pied bien ferme en la terre que l'on veut habiter. Le ne sçay quand nous serons bien resolu en nos irresolutions, mais il me semble que c'est trop profaner le nom François & la Majesté de noz Rois de parler tant de la Nouvelle-France & de la France Antarctique, pour avoir seulement vn nom en l'air, vne possession
 193 imaginaire en la main d'autrui, sans faire aucun effort de se redresser après vne cheute. Dieu doint meilleur succès aux entreprises qui se renouvellent aujourd'huy pour le même sujet, léquelles sont vrayment saintes, & sans autre ambition que d'accroître le royaume celeste. Je ne veux pas dire pourtant que les autres eussent vn autre desir & but que cetui-ci, mais on peut dire que leur zeze n'étoit point accompagné de science, ni d'vne ferveur suffisante à telle entreprise.

Es chartes géographiques qu'André Thevet fit imprimer au retour de ce pais-là, il y a à côté gauche de ce port de *Ganabara* sur la terre ferme vne ville peinte, qu'il a nommée VILLE-HENRY en l'honneur du Roy Henri II. Ce que quelques-vns blament, attendu qu'il n'y eut jamais de ville en ce lieu. Mais soit qu'il y en ait ou non, je n'y trouve point sujet de reprendre si l'on a égard au temps que les François possedoient cette terre, ayant fait cela, à fin d'inviter le Roy à avancer cette affaire.

192 Pour continuer donc ce qui reste à décrire tant de la riviere de *Ganabara*, que de ce qui est situé en icelle, quoy que nous en ayons touché quelque chose ci-devant en la relation du premier voyage, toutefois nous adjouterons encore, que quatre ou cinq lieuës outre le Fort de Colligni, il y a vne autre ile belle & fertile contenant environ six lieuës de tour, fort habitée de Sauvages nommez *Tououpinambouls*, alliez des François. Davantage il y a beaucoup d'autres petites ilettes inhabitées, équelles se
 194 trouve de bonnes & grosses huitres. Quant aux autres poissons il n'en manque point en ce port, ni en la riviere, comme mulets, requiens, rayes, marsoins & autres. Mais principalement est admirable d'y voir des horribles & épouvantables baleines montrans journellement leurs grandes nageoires comme ailes de moulins à-vent hors de l'eau, s'égayans dans le profond de ce port, & s'approchans souvent si près de l'ile, qu'à coups d'arquebuzes on les pouvoit tirer : ce qu'on faisoit quelquefois par plaisir, mais cela ne les offensoit gueres, ou point du tout. Il y en eut vne qui se vint échouer à quelques lieuës loin de ce Port en tirant vers le Cap de Frie (qui est à la partie Orientale), mais nul n'en osa approcher tant qu'elle fût morte d'elle-même, tant elle étoit effroy-

able. Car en se debattant (à faute d'eau) elle faisoit trembler la terre tout autour d'elle, & en oyoit-on le bruit & étonnement à plus de deux lieuës loin. On la mit en pieces, & tant les François que grand nombre de Sauvages en prindrent ce qu'ilz voulurent, & neantmoins il y en demeura plus des deux tiers. La chair n'en est gueres bonne, mais du lart on en fait de l'huile en grande quantité. La langue fut mise en des barils, & envoyée au sieur Admiral, comme la meilleure piece.

A l'extremité & au cul de sac de ce Port il y a deux fleuves d'eau douce, sur léquels nos Frâçois alloient souvent se rejouïr en découvrant païs.

A vint-huit ou trente lieuës plus outre en allât vers la Plate, ou le détroit de ¹⁹³ Magellan, il y a vn autre grand bras de mer appelé par les François *La riviere des Vases*, en laquelle ceux qui vont pardelà prennent Port, comme ilz font encore au havre du Cap de Frie, qui est de l'autre côté vers l'Orient.

Que la division est mauvaise, principalement en Religion : Retour des François venus de Geneve en France : Divers perils en leur voyage : Mer herbuë.

CHAP. IX

COMME la Religion est le plus solide fondement d'un Etat, contenant en soy la Iustice, & consequemment toutes les vertus ; Aussi faut-il bien prendre garde qu'elle soit vniforme s'il est possible, & n'y ait point de varieté en ce que chacun doit croire soit de Dieu, soit de ce qu'il a ordonné. Plusieurs au moyen de la Religion vraye ou faulse ont domté des peuples farouches, & les ont maintenus en concorde, là où ce point venant à être debattu, les esprits alterés ont fait des bandes à part, & causé la ruine & desolation des royaumes & republicues. Car il n'y a rien qui touche les hommes de si près que ce qui regarde l'ame & le salut d'icelle. Et si les grandes assemblées des hommes qui sont fondées de longue main, sont bien souvent ruinées par cette division, que pourra faire vne petite poignée de gens foible & imbecile de soy qui ne se peut à peine soutenir ? Certes elle deviendra en proye au premier qui la viendra attaquer, ainsi qu'il est arrivé à cette petite troupe de François, qui avec tant de peines & perils s'étoit transportée au Bresil, & comme nous avons rapporté de ceux qui s'étoient divisés en la Floride, encores qu'ilz ne fussent en discord pour la Religion. 196

Doncques tandis que les François venus de Geneve étoient logés en quelques cabanes dressées en la terre ferme du port de *Ganabara*, & qu'un navire étoit à l'ancre dans ledit port, attendant qu'il eût sa charge parfaite, le sieur de Villegagnon envoya audits Genevois un congé écrit de sa main, & vne lettre au maître dudit navire, par laquelle il lui mandoit (car le marinier n'eût rien osé faire sans la volonté dudit Villegagnon, lequel étoit comme Vice-Roy en ce 195 pais-là) qu'il ne fit difficulté de les repasser en France pour son égard ; disant que comme il avoit été bien aise de leur venuë pensant avoir trouvé ce qu'il cherchoit, aussi que puis qu'ilz ne s'accordoient pas avec lui il étoit content qu'ilz s'en retournassent. Mais on se plaint que sous ces beaux mots il leur avoit brassé vne étrange tragedie, ayant donné à ce maître de navire un petit coffret enveloppé de toile cirée (à la façon de la mer) plein de lettres qu'il envoyoit pardeça à plusieurs personnes, parmi lesquelles y avoit aussi un procez qu'il avoit fait contr'eux à leur desceu, avec mandement exprès au premier juge auquel on le bailleroit en France, qu'en vertu d'icelui il les retint & fit bruler comme heretiques : mais il en avint autrement, comme nous dirons après que nous les aurons amenés en France.

Ce navire donc étant chargé de bresil, poivre Indic, cotons, guenons, sagoins, perroquets & autres choses, le quatrième de Janvier mille cinq cens cinquante-huit ilz s'embarquerent pour le retour quinze en nombre, sans l'équipage du navire, non sans quelque apprehension, attendu les difficultez qu'ils avoient eues en venant. 197

Et se fussent volontiers quelques-vns resolus de demeurer là perpetuellement, sans la revolte (ainsi l'appellent-ils) de Villegagnon, reconnoissans les traverses qu'il faut souffrir pardeça durant la vie, laquelle ilz treuvoient aisée pardela après vn bon établissement, lequel étoit d'autant plus asseuré, que sans cette division sept ou huit cens personnes avoient deliberé d'y passer cette même année dans des grandes hourques de Flandre, pour commencer à peupler l'environ du port de *Ganabara*, & n'eussent manqué les nouvelles peuplades és années ensuivantes, léquelles à-present seroient accreuës infiniment, & auroient là planté le nom François souz l'obeïssance du Roy, si bien qu'aujourd'huy nôtre nation y auroit vn facile accez, & y seroiët les voyages journaliers; pour la commodité & retraite de plusieurs pauvres gens dont la France n'abonde que trop, léquelz pressés ici de nécessité, ou autrement, s'en fussent allé cultiver cette 196 terre plutot que d'aller chercher leur vie en Hespagne (comme font plusieurs) & ailleurs hors le Royaume.

Or (pour revenir à nôtre propos) le commencement de cette navigation ne 198 fut sans difficulté: car il falloit doubler des grandes basses, c'est à dire des sables & rochers entremelez, qui se jettent environ trente lieuës en mer (ce qui est fort à craindre) & ayans vent mal propre, ilz furent long temps à louvier¹ sans guerres avancer: & parmi ceci vn inconvenient arrive qui les pensa tretous perdre. Car environ la minuit les matelots tirans à la pompe pour vüider l'eau selon la coutume (ce qu'ilz font par chacun quart), ilz ne la peurent epuïser. Ce que voyant le Contremaitre, il descendit en bas, & vit que non seulement le vaisseau étoit entr'ouvert, mais aussi dés-ja si plein d'eau, que de la pesanteur il ne gouvernoit plus, & se laissoit aller à fonds. S'il y en avoit des étonnés, ie le laisse à penser: car si en vn vaisseau bien entier on est (comme on dit) à deux doigts près de la mort, ie croy que ceux-ci n'en étoient point éloignés de demi doit. Toutefois, apres que les matelots furent harassés, quelques vns prindrent tel courage, qu'ilz soutindrent le travail de deux pompes jusques à midi, vüidans l'eau, qui étoit aussi rouge que sang à cause du bois de Bresil duquel elle avoit pris la teinture. Ce-pendant les charpentiers & mariniers ayans trouvé les plus grandes ouvertures, ilz les étouperent, tellement que n'en pouvans plus ils eurent vn peu plus de relache, & découvrirent la terre, vers laquelle ilz tournerent le cap. Et sur ce fut dit par iceux charpentiers que le vaisseau étoit trop vieil & tout mangé de vers, & ne pourroit retourner en France. Partant valoit mieux en faire vn neuf, ou attendre qu'il y en vint quelqu'un de deça. Cela fut bien 199 debattu. Neantmoins le Maître mettant en avant que s'il retournoit en terre ses matelots le quitteroient, & qu'il aimoit mieux hazarder sa vie que de perdre son 197 vaisseau & sa marchandise, il conclut, à tout peril, de poursuivre sa route. Et pource que les vivres étoient courts, & la navigation se prevoyoit devoir être longue, on en mit cinq dans vne barque, léquels à la mal-heure on renvoya à terre, car ilz n'y firent pas de vieux os.

Ainsi se mit derechef le vaisseau en mer, passant avec grand hazard par dessus lédites basses; & ayàs noz gens éloigné la terre d'environ deux cens lieuës, ilz découvrirent vne île inhabitée ronde comme vne tour, de demie lieuë de circuit, fort agreable à voir à-cause des arbres y verdoyans en nôtre plus froide saison. Plusieurs oyseaux en sortoient qui se venoient reposer sur les mats du navire, & se laissoient prendre à la main. Ils étoient gros en apparence, mais le plumage oté, n'étoient quasi que passereaux. En cinq mois que dura

¹ *Louvier* c'est comme qui diroit Tourner çà & là.

le voyage, on ne découvrit autre terre que cette ile & autres petites à l'environ, léquelles n'étoïent marquées sur la carte marine.

Sur la fin de Fevrier, n'étans encore qu'à trois degrez de la ligne æquinoctiale (qui n'étoit pas la troisiéme partie de leur route), voyans que leurs vivres defailloient, ilz furent en deliberation de relacher au Cap saint Roch (qui est par les cinq degrez en la terre du Bresil) pour y avoir quelques rafraichissemens : toutefois la pluspart fut d'avis qu'il valoit mieux passer outre, & en vn besoin manger les guenons & perroquets qu'ilz portoient. Et arrivez 200 qu'ilz furent vers ladite ligne, ilz n'eurent moins d'empeschement que devant, & furent long temps à tourner sans pouvoir franchir ce pas. L'en ay rendu la raison ci-dessus au chapitre quatrième, où j'ay aussi dit que les vapeurs qui s'élevent de la mer és environs de l'Æquateur, attirées par l'air & trainées quant & lui en la course qu'il fait suivant le mouvement du premier mobile, venans à rencontrer le cours & mouvement de la Zone sont contraintes par la repercussion de retourner quasi au contraire, d'où viennent les vens d'abas, c'est à dire du Ponant & du Suroest : aussi fut-ce vn vent de Suroest qui tira noz François hors de difficulté & les porta outre l'Æquinoxe, lequel passé, peu apres ilz commencerent à découvrir nôtre pole arctique.

Or, comme il y a souvent de la jalousie entre mariniers & conducteurs de navires, il avint ici vne querelle entre le Pilote & le Contre-maitre, qui pensa les perdre tous. Car en dépit l'un de l'autre ne faisans pas ce qui étoit de leurs charges, vn grain de vent s'éleva la nuit,¹ lequel s'enveloppa tellement dans les voiles, que le vaisseau fut préque renversé la quille en haut : & n'eut-on plus beau que de couper en grande diligence les écoutes de la grand' voile : & en cet accident tomberent & furent perduz dans l'eau les cables, cages d'oiseaux, & toutes autres hardes qui n'étoient pas bien attachées.

Quelques jours après r'entrans en nouveau danger, vn charpentier cherchant au fonds du vaisseau les fentes par où l'eau y entroit, s'éleva près la quille (or 201 la quille est le fondement du navire, comme l'eschine à l'homme & és animaux, sur laquelle sont entées & arrangées les côtes) vne piece de bois large d'un pied en quarré, laquelle fit ouverture à l'eau en si grande abondance, que les matelots qui assistoient ledit charpentier montans en haut tout éperduz ne sceurent dire autre chose sinon, Nous sommes perduz, nous sommes perduz. Surquoy les Maitre & Pilote voyans le peril evident, firent jetter en mer grande quantité de bois de bresil, & les panneaux qui couvroient le navire, pour tirer la barque dehors, dans laquelle ilz se vouloient sauver : Et craignans qu'elle ne fût trop chargée (parce que chacun y vouloit entrer), le Pilote se tint dedans l'épée à la main, disant qu'il couperoit les bras au premier qui feroit semblant d'y entrer : de maniere qu'il se falloit resoudre à la mort, comme quelques-vns faisoient. En fin toutefois le charpentier, petit homme courageux, n'ayant point abandonné la place, avoit 199 bouché le trou avec son caban ou cappot de mer, soutenant tant qu'il pouvoit la violence de l'eau qui par fois l'emportoit : & apres qu'on lui eut fourni de plusieurs hardes & lits de coton, à l'ayde d'aucuns il racoutra la piece qui avoit été levée, & ainsi evaderet ce danger, l'ayans échappé belle. Mais il en falloit encore bien souffrir d'autres, étans à plus de mille lieus du port où ilz pretendoient aller.

Après ce danger, ilz trouverent force vens contraires, ce qui fut cause que le Pilote (qui n'étoit pas des mieux entendus en son métier) perdit sa route, & 202

¹ Le 26. Mars.

navigerēt en incertitude jusques au Tropique de Cancer. Pendant lequel temps ilz rencontrerēt vne mer si epessemēt herbue qu'il falloit trêcher les herbes avec vne coignée, & cōme ilz pensoient être entre des marais, ilz jetterēt la sonde & ne trouverent point de fonds. Aussi ces herbes n'avoient point de racines, ains s'entretenoient l'une l'autre par longs filamens comme lierre terrestre, ayās les fueilles assez semblables à celles de Ruë de jardins, la graine ronde, & non plus grosse que celle de Genevre. Es navigations de Christophe Colomb se trouve qu'au premier voyage qu'il fit à la découverte des Indes (qui fut l'an mille quatre cens nonante-deux), ayant passé les iles Canaries, après plusieurs journées il rencontra tant d'herbes qu'il sembloit que ce fût vn pré. Ce qui lui donna de la peur, encore qu'il n'y eût point de danger.

Famine extrême, & les effects d'icelle : Pourquoy on dit Rage de faim : Découverte de la terre de Bretagne : Recepte pour r'affermir le vêtre : Procez cõtre les François Genevois envoyé en France : Retour de Villegagnon.

LE Tropique passé, & étans encore à plus de cinq cens lieuës de France, il fallut retrencher les vivres de moitié, s'étant la provision consommée par la longueur du voyage causée par les vens contraires & le defaut de bonne conduite. Car (comme nous avons dit) le ²⁰³ Pilote ignorant avoit perdu la conoissance de sa route : si bien que pensant être vers le Cap de Fine-terre en Hespagne, il n'étoit qu'à la hauteur des Açores, qui en sont à plus de trois cens lieuës. Cet erreur fut cause qu'à la fin d'Avril, dépourvez de tous vivres, il se fallut mettre à balayer & nettoyer la Soute (c'est le lieu où se met la provision du biscuit) en laquelle ayans trouvé plus de vers & de crottes de rats que de miettes de pain ; neantmoins cela se partisoit avec des culieres, & en faisoient de la bouillie : & sur cela on fit apprendre aux guenõs & perroquets des gambades & langages qu'ils ne sçavoient pas : car ilz servirẽt de pature à leurs maitres. Bref, dès le commencemẽt de May que tous vivres ordinaires étoient faillis, deux mariniers moururent de mal-rage de faim, & furent ensevelis dans les eaux. Outre-plus, durant cette famine la tourmente continuant jour & nuict l'espace de trois semaines, ilz ne furent pas seulement contraints de plier les voiles & amarrer (*attacher*) le gouvernail, mais aussi durant trois semaines que dura cette tourmente ilz ne peurent pêcher vn seul poisson : qui est chose pitoyable, & sur toutes autres déplorable. Somme, les voila à la famine jusques aux dents (comme on dit), assaillis d'vn impitoyable element, & par dedans & par dehors.

Or étans ja si maigres & affoiblis qu'à peine se pouvoient-ils tenir debout pour faire les manœuvres du navire, quelques vns s'aviserent de couper en pieces certaines rondelles faites de peaux, léquelles ilz firent bouillir pour les manger, ²⁰⁴ mais elles ne furent trouvées bonnes ainsi, à-cause dequoy quelques-vns les firent ²⁰¹ rotir en forme de carbônades : & étoit heureux qui en pouvoit avoir. Apres ces rondelles succederent les colets de cuir, souliers, & cornes de lanternes, qui ne furent point épargnées. Et nonobstant, sur peine de couler à fond, il falloit perpetuellement être à la pompe pour vuider l'eau.

En ces extremitez, le douzième May mourut encores de rage de faim le canõnier, de qui le métier ne pouvoit gueres servir alors, car quand ils eussent fait rencontre de quelques pyrates, ce leur eût été grand plaisir de se donner à eux : mais cela n'avint point : & en tout le voyage ilz ne virent qu'vn vaisseau, duquel à cause de leur trop grande foiblesse ilz ne peurent approcher.

Tant qu'on eut des cuirs on ne s'avisa point de faire la guerre aux rats, qui

sont ordinairement beaux & potelez dans les navires : mais se ressentans de cette famine, & trottans continuellemēt pour chercher à vivre, ilz donnerent avis qu'ilz pourroient bien servir de viande à qui en pourroit avoir. Ainsi chacun va à la chasse, & dresse-on tant de pieges, qu'on en prend quelques-vns. Ils étoient à si haut prix qu'un fut vendu quatre écus. Un autre fit promesse d'un habit de pied en cap à qui lui en voudroit bailler un. Et comme le Contre-maitre en eût appreté un pour le faire cuire, ayant coupé & jetté sur le tillac les quatre pattes blanches, elles furent soigneusement recueillies & grillées sur les charbons, disant celui qui les mangea n'avoir jamais trouvé ailes de perdrix si bonnes. Mais cette nécessité n'étoit seulement des viandes, ains aussi de toute sorte de boisson : car il n'y avoit ni vin, ni eau douce. Seulement restoit un peu de cidre, duquel chacun n'avait qu'un petit verre par jour. A la fin fallut rôger du bresil pour en tirer quelque substance : ce que fit le sieur du Pont, lequel desiroit avoir donné bonne quittance d'une partie de quatre mille francs qui lui étoient deuz, & avoir un pain d'un sol & un verre de vin. Que si cetui-ci étoit tellement pressé, il faut estimer que la misere étoit venue au dessus de tout ce que la langue & la plume peuvent exprimer. Aussi mourut-il encores deux ²⁰² mariniers le quinziesme & sezieme de May, de cette miserable pauvreté, laquelle non sans cause est appelée rage, d'autant que la nature defaillant, les corps étans attenuez, les sens alienez & les esprits dissipez, cela rend leurs personnes non seulement farouches, mais aussi engendre une colere telle qu'on ne se peut regarder l'un l'autre qu'avec une mauvaise intention, comme faisoient ceux-ci. Et de telle chose Moyse ayant connoissance, il en menace entre autres chatimens le peuple d'Israel quand il viendra à oublier & mépriser la loy de son Dieu.¹ Alors (dit-il) l'homme le plus tendre & plus delicat d'entre vous regardera d'un ail malin son frere, & sa femme bien-aimée, & le demeurant de ses enfans : Et la femme la plus delicate, qui pour sa tendreté n'aura point essayé de mettre son pied en terre, regardera d'un ail malin son mari bien-aimé, son fils & sa fille, ²⁰⁶ &c. Cette famine & miserable nécessité étant si étrange, je n'ay que faire de m'amuser à rapporter les exemples des sieges des villes, où l'on trouve tousjours quelque suc, ni de ceux que l'on rapporte être morts en passant les deserts de l'Afrique : car il n'y auroit iamais de fin. Cet exēple seul est suffisant pour émouvoir les plus endurcis à cōmiseratiō. Et quoi que ceux-ci ne soiēt venus jusques à se tuer l'un l'autre pour se repaître de chair humaine, comme firent ceux qui retournerent du premier voyage de la Floride (ainsi que nous avons veu au chapitre septiesme du premier livre), toutefois ils ont été reduits à une pareille, voire plus grāde nécessité : car ceux-là n'attendirent point une si extreme faim que d'en mourir : & ne fait point mention l'histoire qu'ils aient rongé le bois du bresil, ou grillé les cornes de lanternes.

Or à la parfin Dieu eut pitié de ces pauvres affligés & les amena à la veuē de la basse Bretagne le vint-quatrieme jour de May, mille cinq cens cinquante-huit, étans tellement abbatuz qu'ilz gisoient sur le tillac sans pouvoir remuer ni bras, ni jābes. Toutefois, par-ce que plusieurs-fois ils avoient été trompés cuidans voir terre là où ce n'étoit que des nuées, ilz pensoient que ce fût illusion, & quoy que le matelot qui étoit à la hune criât par plusieurs fois : Terre, terre, encore ne le pouvoient-ilz croire ; mais ayans vent propice, & mis ²⁰³ le cap droit dessus, tôt après ilz s'en asseurerent, & en rendirent graces à Dieu. Après quoy le Maitre du navire dit tout haut que pour certain, s'ilz fussent

¹ Deuter. 28, vers. 54, 55, 56.

demeurés encor vint-quatre heures en cet état, il avoit deliberé & resolu de tuer quelqu'un sans dire mot, pour servir de pature aux autres.

Approchez qu'ilz furent de terre, ilz mouillèrent l'ancre, & dans vne chaloupe quelques vns s'en allerent au lieu plus proche, dit Hodierne, acheter des vivres : mais il y en eut qui ayans pris de l'argent de leurs compagnons, ne retournerent point au navire, & laisserent là leurs coffres & hardes, protestans de iamais n'y retourner, tant ils avoient peur de s'entrer au païs de famine. Tandis il y eut quelques pécheurs qui s'étans approchéz du navire, comme on leur demandoit des vivres, ilz se voulurent reculer, pensans que ce fût mocquerie, & que souz ce pretexte on leur vouloit faire tort : mais nos affamez se saisirent d'eux, & se ietterent si impetueusement dans leur barque que les pauvres pécheurs pensoient tous être saccagez : toutefois on ne prit rien d'eux que de gré & gré : & y eut vn vilain qui print deux reales d'un quartier de pain bis qui ne valoit pas vn liart au païs.

Or ceux qui étoient descendus à terre étans retournés avec pain, vin & viandes, il faut croire qu'on ne les laissa point moisir, ni aigrir. Ilz leverent donc l'ancre pour aller à la Rochelle, mais avertis qu'il y avoit des pirates qui rodoient la côte, ilz cinglerent droit au grand, beau & spacieux havre de Blavet, païs de Bretagne, là où pour lors arrivoient grand nombre de vaisseaux de guerre, tirans force coups d'artillerie, & faisant les bravades accoutumées en entrant victorieux dans vn port de mer. Il y avoit des spectateurs en grand nombre, dont quelques-vns vindrent à propos pour soutenir noz Bresiliens par dessous les bras, n'ayans aucune force pour se porter. Ils eurent avis de se garder de trop manger, mais d'vser peu à peu de bouillons pour le commencement, de vieilles 204 poullailles bien consommées, de lait de chevre & autres choses propres pour leur élargir les boyaux, léquelz par le long jeune étoient tout retirez. Ce qu'ilz firent : mais quant aux matelots, la pluspart gens goulus & indiscrets, il en mourut plus de la moitié, qui furent crevez subitement pour s'être voulu remplir le ventre du premier coup. Après cette famine s'ensuivit vn degoutement si grand, que plusieurs abhorroient toutes viandes, & même le vin, lequel sentans, ilz tombaient en defaillance : outre-ce, la pluspart devindrent enflés depuis la plante des piés jusques au sommet de la tête ; d'autres tant seulement depuis la ceinture en bas. Davantage il survint à tous vn cours de ventre & tel devoyement d'estomach, qu'ilz ne pouvoient rien retenir dās le corps. Mais on leur enseigna vne recepte : à sçavoir du jus de lierre terrestre, du ris bien cuit, lequel oté de dessus le feu, il faut faire étouffer dās le pot, avec force vieux drappeaux à l'entour, puis prendre des moyeux d'œufs, & mêler le tout ensemble dans vn plat sur vn rehaut. Ayant, di-je, mîgé cela avec des culieres, en forme de bouillie, ilz furent soudain r'affermis.

Neantmoins ce ne fut ici tout, ni la fin des perils. Car après tant de maux, ces gens ici, auxquels les flots enragez & l'horrible famine avoient pardonné, 209 portoient quant & eux les outils de leur mort, si la chose fut arrivée au desir de Villegagnon. Nous avons dit au chapitre precedent qu'icelui Villegagnon avoit baillé au Maître de navire vn coffret plein de lettres qu'il envoyoit à diverses personnes, parmi lesquelles y avoit aussi vn procez par lui fait contre-eux à leur desceu, avec mandement au premier Iuge auquel on le bailleroit en France, qu'en vertu d'icelui il les retint & fit bruler comme heretiques. Avint que le sieur du Pont, chef de la troupe Genevoise, ayant pris conoissance à quelques gens de justice de ce païs-là, qui avoient sentiment de la Religion de Geneve, le

coffret avec les lettres & le procez leur fut baillé & delivré, lequel ayans veu, tant s'en faut qu'ilz leur fissent aucun mal ni injure, qu'au contraire ilz leur firent 205 la meilleure chere qu'il leur fut possible, offrans de l'argent à ceux qui en avoient à faire : ce qui fut accepté par quelques-vns, auxquels ilz baillerent ce qui leur fut necessaire.

Ilz vindrent puis après à Nantes là où, comme si leurs sens eussent été entierement renversés, ilz furent environ huit jours oyās si dur & ayans la veuë si offusquée qu'ilz pensoient devenir sourds & aveugles ; ceci causé, à mon avis, par la perception des nouvelles viandes, de qui la force s'étendant par les veines & conduits du corps, chassoit les mauvaises vapeurs, léquelles cherchans vne sortie par les yeux ou les oreilles, & n'en trouvens point, étoient contraintes de s'arrêter là. Ilz furent visitez par le soin de quelques doctes Medecins qui 210 apporterent envers eux ce qui étoit de leur art & science : puis chacun prit parti où il avoit affaire.

Quant aux cinq léquels nous avons dit avoir été au débarquement du Bresil r'envoyés à terre, Villegagnon en fit noyer trois comme seditieux & heretiques, léquelz ceux de Geneve ont mis au catalogue de leurs martyrs.

Pour le regard dudit Villegagnon, Iean de Lery dit qu'il abandonna quelque temps après le Fort de Colligni pour revenir en France, y laissant quelques gens pour la garde, qui mal conduits & foibles, soit de vivres, soit de nombre, furent surpris par les Portugais, qui en firent cruelle boucherie. I'ose croire que les comportemens de Villegagnon envers ceux de la Religion pretenduë reformée le disgracierent du sieur Admiral, & n'ayant plus le rafraichissemēt & secours ordinaire, il jugea qu'il ne faisoit plus bon là pour lui, & valoit mieux s'en retirer. En quoy faisant, il eût eu plus d'honneur de r'amener son petit peuple, étant bien certain que les Portugais ne les lairroient gueres en repos, & de vivre toujours en apprehension, c'est perpetuellement mourir. Et davantage, si vn homme d'autorité a assez de peine à se faire obeïr, meme en vn pais éloigné de secours : beaucoup moins obeïra-on à vn Lieutenant, de qui la crainte 206 n'est si bien enracinée és cœurs des sujets qu'est celle d'un gouverneur en chef. Telles choses considerées, ne se faut émerveiller si cette entreprise a si mal reüssi. Mais elle n'avoit garde de subsister, veu que Villegagnon n'avoit 211 point envie de resider là. Qu'il n'en ait point eu d'envie, je le conjecture, par-ce qu'il ne s'est addonné à la culture de la terre. Ce qu'il falloit faire dès l'entrée, & ayant pais decouvert, semer abondamment, & avoir des grains de reste sans en attendre de France. Ce qu'il a peu & deu faire en quatre ans ou environ qu'il y a été, puis que c'étoit pour posseder la terre. Ce qui lui a été d'autant plus facile, que cette terre produit en toute saison. Et puis qu'il s'étoit voulu mêler de dissimuler, il devoit attendre qu'il fût bien fondé pour decouvrir son intention ; & en cela git la prudence. Il n'appartient pas à tout le monde de conduire des peuplades & colonies. Qui veut faire cela, il faut qu'il soit populaire & de tous métiers, & qu'il ne se dedaigne de rien : & sur tout qu'il soit doux & affable, & éloigné de cruauté.







